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Scuteiro.

Milton.

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THE

STATE OF INNOCENCE,

AND

THE FALL OF MAN,

DESCRIBED IN

✓
MILTON'S PARADISE LOST.

RENDERED INTO PROSE;

WITH HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND EXPLANATORY
NOTES.

FROM THE FRENCH OF THE LEARNED R. DE ST. MAUR.

Milton's Paradise Lost

BY A GENTLEMAN OF OXFORD.

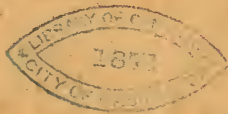
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THE FIRST BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT

PROPOSES the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was placed. Then touches the prime cause of his fall, which was Satan in the serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of angels, was by the command of God, driven out of heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action passed over, the author hastes into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his angels now fallen into hell described, not in the centre (for heaven and earth may be supposed as not yet made, certainly not yet accursed) but in a place of utter darkness, most fitly called Chaos: here Satan with his angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then confounded; they rise, their numbers, array of battle, their chief leaders named, according to the idols afterwards known in Canaan, and the countries adjoining. Satan, though sensible of the diminution of his glory, directs his speech to the fallen angels, comforts them with hope yet of regaining heaven, but tells them of a new world, and new kind of creature to be created; according to an ancient prophecy or report in heaven, and threatens the Deity, which the rebellious angels all assent to. The associates of Satan build Pandæmonium, and the infernal peers sit there in council.

CHAPTER I.

The whole subject is proposed, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was placed. The prime cause of his fall. Satan with his angels now fallen into hell described, lying on the burning lake. After a certain space Satan calls to him who next lay by him. They confer of their miserable fall.

HEAVENLY Spirit of truth and harmony assist me! to write of Man's first disobedience, and of the fruit of that forbidden tree, the tasting of which brought death and all our woe into the world, and occasioned the loss of paradise, till Jesus Christ, a Man far greater than Adam, restore and redeem, and once more regain a Paradise for us.

Thou, who from the thick clouds on the sceret top of mount Oreb, (a) or, perhaps of Sinai (b) didst inspire

(a) *Oreb, Horeb, or Choreb*, Heb. i. e. *dryness*; for it was a desert or dry mountain in Arabia the Stony, where there was little or no water, Deut. viii. 15. Horeb is a part of mount Sinai on the west side; and Sinai lies on the east side of it. There Moses fed the flock of Jethro, and there God appeared to him first in a *burning bush*, Exod. iii. 1.

(b) *Sinai*, Heb. from *Sench*, i. e. *a bush, or thorn*; because these bushes grew thereon in abundance. It is a very steep and high mountain in Arabia the Stony, about 156 miles from Jerusalem to the south. These are not two distinct mountains but one, which is parted into two tops, like Parnassus, &c. of which Sinai is the highest; having a fair and spacious plain between them: that top towards the west is called Horeb, and that to the east Sinai. The mountain is round, takes 7,000 steps to the top, has some olive-trees, fig-trees, date-trees, &c. and several chapels, monasteries, cells, and mosques, &c. It is called the *mount of God*, because it is a great one; or because God appeared thereon frequently to Moses, and delivered his *law there*; by the Turks, Gibol Mousa, i. e. the mount of Moses; by the Arabians, Tor, i. e. the mountain. Very much vene-

Moses when a shepherd there, who first taught the children of Israel, how heaven and earth were created from the elements, which were till then nothing but a mixed and confused heap, and without form. Or if thy presence be more revealed on mount Sion, (c) or by the brook of Siloa, (d) which runs down from thence to the

ration is still paid to this mountain, on account of that *ancient and extraordinary holiness*, when the Almighty appeared upon it to Moses.

(c) *Sion, Zion, or Tzion*, Heb. *i. e. a watch tower*; because it is the highest hill thereabout, and from it one might see the Holy Land far and near. A mountain on the north side, and some part of it within the city of Jerusalem, surrounded with steep sides, high rocks, and deep ditches, except on the north side; therefore it was very strong. Some of the Jebusites (part of the old Canaanites) defended it against all the force of the Israelites, Josh. xv. 63. until the valiant king David took it from them; there he fortified the old castle, built the Upper Town, surrounded it with new walls, and called it the city of David; there he kept his court and retinue, 2 Sam. v. 6. There were many fair buildings and houses of his officers, especially his house of Cedar-wood, which he called the Castle of Sion, and the Sepulchre of king David, Solomon, &c. within a rock: some of their ruins are to be seen still. It is elegantly described, Psal. xlviii. by Josephus, Sands, &c. Sion was also called the Mount of the House of the Sanctuary, and Milo, *i. e. plenty*; because there was abundance of all good things for David's family, and those of his nobles. Sion was also a type or figure of the church of Christ, Heb. xii. 22.

* * OBS. Mount Moriah and mount Sion stood directly in the centre, and mount Calvary without the north gate, in the Old Jerusalem, and at a considerable distance: but now mount Sion is without the walls upon the south side, and mount Calvary almost in the middle of it.

(d) *Siloe, Siloah, Siloam, Shiloah*, Heb. *i. e. sent*; for it was a brook or spring of water gliding softly down mount Sion, on the east side of the Temple of Jerusalem, and at the bottom of it made a pool, which was sent from God, at the prayer of Isaias, a little before his death, and when the city was closely besieged; as a blessing or gift, to cure many diseases among his

temple where thy oracle is placed, I intreat the influence of thy Spirit from thence, to aid me in treating of this difficult subject, seeing I must elevate my style, above the best poets, and discourse of such high, and sacred things, as have never been attempted before, either in prose or rhyme. Instruct me, for thou knowest, thou, who preferest an upright and pure heart before all temples: Thou wast present from all eternity, and moving on the great deep didst infuse vital heat, and as the dove when she warms eggs into life make nature prolific. What is dark in me do thou enlighten, and raise, and support me, where I am too low and weak, that I may assert the wisdom and justice of eternal Providence, in a manner worthy the subject I have undertook to write on, and so justify thy ways to men.

Taught by thee (for the highest heaven nor lowest hell hide nothing from thee) let me relate what was the cause that moved our first parents, when they were placed in so happy an estate, and favoured so highly of heaven, to lose obedience to their Creator, and transgress his command, when he had laid on them but one restraint, and given them power over the whole world besides; and who it was that first seduced them to that foul rebellion: It was the chief of the fallen angels (*e*)

people. Herein a blind man washed his eyes at Christ's command, and received his eye-sight, John ix. 7. There a tower was built over it, by the fall of which 18 men were killed, Luke xiii. 4.

(*e*) *Angels*: All the modern languages of Europe borrow this word *angel* from the Greek, *i. e.* a messenger; and the Hebrew *Malachi* signifies the same, because these celestial beings are the messengers of God. It denotes their office rather than their nature. In other words they are called spirits, ministers, gods, sons of God, thrones, &c. Angels are pure, intellectual spiritual beings, more noble by far than man, the glory and perfection of the creation; of all creatures they come nearest to the eternal Father of spirits, in their spiritual nature and vast perfections; which the Almighty makes use of as his servants, to ex-

concealed in the form of a serpent, whose fraud, stirred up with revenge, and envy, deceived the first mother of mankind: before which his pride had occasioned him to be cast out from heaven, with all the rest of the rebellious angels, by whose assistance he aspired first to set himself up in glory above what he was, and imagined that he might equal himself to the almighty and most high God, if he did but strive, and oppose him; and with this ambitious aim made war in heaven, and fought against his government, absolute power and dominion, with proud battle, but the attempt was in vain, for the power of the Almighty cast him down from the heavens, with most dreadful ruin, and burning, down to the bottomless pit, and everlasting destruction, where he was doomed to live, in such pains and bondage, as are best expressed by chains and fire; who had the presumption to defy, and set himself against the omnipotent Creator of all things.

As long as would seem many days and nights to mortal men, he lay with his horrid companions, totally subdued, and restless, as if they had been rolling in a fiery gulf; for though they were immortal spirits, yet were they confounded: but his doom was to be reserved to more wrath, for now the thought of the happiness he had lost, and the lasting pain which had seized, tormented him, and speaking after the manner of men, he cast his sorrowful eyes around, which shewed that he was dismayed, and very much afflicted; but not so, but that he retained stedfast hate, and inflexible pride. At once, as far as it was in the power of an angel to discern, he perceived the dismal situation, that it was waste, and wild, and his idea represented to him a hor-

ecute his orders through the whole creation, although he stands in no need of their services. Angels of the presence: and so they are called *Shinan*, *i. e.* *second*: because they are second or next to God, *Psal. lxxviii. 17.* Here, Satan who had once been an holy, but is now an apostate and rebellious angel.

rible dungeon, that flamed round on all sides, like a great furnace, and yet there seemed to be no light, but only perceptible darkness; in which terrible sights of woe might be discovered; regions of sorrow, shades of hell, where peace and rest could never have habitation, where hope the only comforter never comes, but endless tortures urge continually, and a fiery deluge, fed with what always burns, and never consumes: This place eternal Justice had prepared for those rebellious angels, and here given them their portion, farther removed from the light of heaven, and from God, than it is from the centre (*f*) three times to the farthest pole, (*g*) that but oh! how unlike was this place from that he fell from! There he soon discerned the companions of his fall overwhelmed as with floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire; and weltering by his side, one that was next himself in power, and next in wickedness, who a great while afterwards was worshipped in Palæstine, (*h*) and called Beelzebub, (*i*) to whom the arch-

(*f*) *Centre*; *Fr. Ital. Span. Lat.* from the *Gr. i. e.* a point, an astronomical T. The middle point of a circle. Here, the middle point of the earth, *i. e.* three times as far from heaven as the two poles are distant from the equator, which is a vast distance indeed.

(*g*) *Pole*; *Fr. Lat. Gr. i. e. turning round.* An astron. T. The two ends of an imaginary circle, on which astronomers say the world turns round from east to west daily. The poles are two, the Artic or north pole; and the Antartic or south pole.

(*h*) *Palæstine*; *Heb. i. e. sprinkled with dust and sand*; because it is a very dry land. A country of Asia upon the Mediterranean Sea. It was called, 1. *Canaan*, from Canaan the son of Ham; 2. *Philistæa* or *Palestine*, from a mighty people descended from Mizraim, another of his sons, Gen. x. 14. who

(*i*) *Beel-zebub*, *Baal-zebub*, or *Bel-zebub*; *Heb. i. e.* The Lord of flies; either because the people believed, that he drove away and destroyed flies, which very much infested them; or because multitudes of these vermin swarmed about the blood of the sacrifices offered to him. He was worshipped first at Ba-

enemy (who thenceforward in heaven, was called Satan (*k*)) breaking the horrid silence with bold words thus began to speak:

If thou art he, who in the happy kingdoms of light, cloathed with excessive brightness, didst outshine millions of the other angels, though they were bright! If misery hath now joined with me in the same ruin, him whose united thoughts, and counsels, whose equal hope, and hazard with mutual league, joined with me once in the glorious enterprise: how art thou fallen and changed! Thou seest into what pit, and from what height we are thrown down; so much stronger He proved with his thunders, and till then who had ever known the force of those fatal arms? And yet not on the account of those, or what the powerful Conquerer in his

inhabited some part of it. 3. *The land of promise*; because God promised to give it to Abraham and his posterity, for an inheritance. 4. *Judea*; from Judah, whose offspring had it long in possession. And 5. the *Holy Land*; because it was honoured with God's extraordinary presence, worship, mercies, blessings, miracles above all countries upon earth; and with the nativity, life, actions, and doctrine of the holy Jesus and his apostles. The Jews expelled the Philistines for their abominable idolatry and other crimes; the Romans demolished those; the Saracens and Turks have been masters of it these thousand years past. †† Obs. That though idolatry was practised all the world over, yet our author mentions this nation in particular; because the idols hereafter described, were chiefly worshipped in it.

bylon, and then every where; but chiefly by the people of Ekron, 2 Kings i. 2. Here it is the name of one grand prince of the devils, and next to Satan; our Saviour calls him the *prince of the devils*, Matth. xii. 24.

(*k*) *Satan*; Heb. i. e. the *adversary*. The very prince of all devils. As there are different orders and degrees of the holy angels, so there are still among the wicked ones: their chief prince is called Satan, Bel-zebub, the old serpent, &c. for as every good angel is not a Michael or a Gabriel; so every devil is not a Satan, a Lucifer, &c. And a kingdom is ascribed to him, Matth. xii. 26. Eph. ii. 2.

greatest anger can inflict else, do I either change, or repent of that fixed mind (though my outward lustre may seem diminished) nor of that high disdain which arose in me from a sense of injured merit, that raised me to contend with him who is called Mightiest, and brought along to the fierce contention, a numberless force of armed spirits, who durst disapprove of his government; and preferring me, with adverse power opposed his utmost power, in a doubtful battle fought in heaven, in such a manner as shook his throne. What though we have suffered some loss? we have not lost all, our will still remains unconquered; immortal hate, and study of revenge yet remain, and a courageous resolution never to yield or submit, that glory his greatest wrath or power shall never extort from me (what other proof needs there, that we are not overcome?) To bow and petition for grace, and with supplications and bended knees, acknowledge a power to be infinite, and divine, who so lately had reason from the terror of my power to doubt the continuance of his dominion: that would be low indeed, that would be worse disgrace, worse shame and ignominy than this downfall. Since we have (as well as he) by fate (*l*) the strength of gods, and the substance of which we are, is immortal and cannot fail; since by this last great event we have gained much experience and foresight, and for opposition still are not worse, we may now make a resolution (and hope well for success) to make either by force or fraud eternal and irreconcilable war upon our great Enemy; who now indeed triumphs in the excess of joy, and having no competitor arbitrarily holds the tyranny of heaven.

(*l*) *Fate*; *Fr. Lat.* i. e. *the speech or decree of God*. A word much used by the stoics, and other heathen philosophers for the providence of God: the eternal and unchangeable course of things, the unalterable law of nature, destiny.

Thus vaunting aloud spoke the apostate angel, though he was in great pain, and stung with tortures of the deepest despair; and his intrepid companion Beelzebub soon replied:

Great prince! chief of the many throned powers, (*m*) that lead the seraphim (*n*) to war in order of battle under thy conduct, and fearless, brought into danger the perpetual King of heaven, and put his high supremacy to the proof; whether he be upheld by strength, by chance, or by fate, I see too well and am grieved for the sorrowful event, that with foul defeat and sad destruction hath lost us heaven, and with horrible overthrow, thus low, laid all this mighty host, as far as gods, and heavenly beings can perish; for the mind and spirit remain invincible, and vigour soon returns; though all our glory is extinct, and our happy estate here swallowed up in endless misery. But what if our Conqueror (whom I now by force believe to be almighty, since nothing short of omnipotence could have overcome such force as ours) hath left us this our spirit, and this our strength entire, only to enable us to endure our pains; that so we may afford satisfaction to his wrath, or do him greater service, as his captives by right of war; whatever his business may be, either to work in fire, here in the midst of hell, or do his errands in the dark and gloomy deep? Then what can it avail, that we feel no decay of our strength; or is eternal being

(*m*) *Powers*; *Fr.* from the *Lat.* Such angels as have ability, authority, might and force in heaven. Here, such princes among the fallen angels, who still retained that high order among themselves, which they had before their fall.

(*n*) *Seraphim* and *seraph*, *Heb.* i. e. *burning* and *flaming like fire*, to shew the vast love and zeal of those blessed spirits to God. In scripture this word denotes holy angels of the first order of the celestial hierarchy. Here, Satan, who had been one of that high and happy order.

a good, only to undergo eternal punishment? Whereto Satan, breaking in upon his discourse, replied:

Fallen cherub! (*o*) to be weak is to be miserable, either acting or suffering; but be certain of this, that to do any thing good will never be our business, but our only delight always to do ill, as being directly contrary to his high will, whom we oppose: so that if his providence seeks out of our evil to bring forth any good, it must be our labour to pervert that end, and still to find means of evil out of good; which may often succeed, so as perhaps shall molest him (if I fail not) and hinder his most secret designs and councils from their intended aim. But look, the angry Conqueror hath recalled his (*p*) ministers of pursuit and vengeance back to heaven; the fiery hail, that was shot after us in a storm, is now blown over, and hath laid the burning flood, which from the precipice of heaven received us as we fell, and the thunder which broke on us, following red lightning with violent force, perhaps hath spent its shafts; for now it ceases to bel- low through the great and boundless deep: then let us not slip the opportunity, whether scorn or satisfied fury yield it us from our enemy. Dost thou see yonder dismal plain, wild and comfortless, a seat of desolation and without light, except what the glimmering of these livid flames casts pale and very dreadful? thither let us repair from off the violent and painful tossing of these waves of fire; there let us rest, if any rest can be had there, and assembling our afflicted powers again, consult how we may henceforward most annoy our great

(*o*) *Cherub*, in the singular number, and *cherubim* in the plural, Heb. *i. e.* fullness of knowledge, angels of the first order first mentioned, Gen. iii. 24. They were represented in the tabernacle and temple in human shape, with two wings, Exod. xxv. 18. 2 Chren. iii. 10.

(*p*) *Ministers*; Fr. *Lat.* servants. Here, the executioners of God's vengeance upon these rebels; the holy angels. See Psalm ciii. 20.

foe, how repair our own loss, how overcome this doleful calamity, what new strength and courage we may gain from hope, and if none from thence, what resolution we may gain from despair.

Thus Satan kept talking to Beelzebub, with his head lifted up above the waves, and glancing his eyes from side to side; as for his other parts, he lay extended in a melancholy condition, floating in length and breadth over a vast space of the abyss; as large in bulk as those, whom fables have named of prodigious size, as (q) Titanian, or earth-born, who is said to have made war on Jove; Briareus, or Typhon, (r) who was buried in a

(q) *Titanian*, like to Titan, *Lat. Gr.* from the Heb. *i. e.* earth or mud. The fable is thus, Titan was the elder brother of Saturn, he gave the right of inheritance to him, upon condition that none of his male children should live; so the government should return to him and his issue. But finding that Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto were brought up secretly, he with his sons made war upon Saturn; took him, his wife and children prisoners, until Jupiter came to age, who defeated Titan with his thunderbolts, and punished the Titans in hell and other places. The truth of this story is taken from the old giants, the builders of Babel, Gen. xi, 2. The giants' war is described by the poets with all might, terror and greatness; but our author has beautifully improved it here and in his sixth book, in the supposed war of the fallen angels against God.

(r) *Typhon* or *Typheus*; Heb. and Phœnic. *i. e.* an inundation, *Gr. i. e.* an inflammation or smokeing; because he was thunderstruck by Jupiter. A monstrous giant, half man, half serpent. His head, they say, reached to heaven, his hands from one end of the earth to the other, and he blew fire out of his mouth. These two were the chief of the giants. In the war with the gods they heaped mountains upon mountains, and battered heaven with huge rocks and islands plucked out of the sea; Jupiter struck him with thunderbolts and laid him under mount Ætna. By this fable they meant the winds which blow from one end of heaven to the other, and from it to the earth; Jupiter's conquering him signifies, that the sun moderates and tempers the winds,

cave by ancient Tarsus; (*s*) or Leviathan, (*t*) which God created the largest of all the creatures that swim in the ocean; (who sometimes sleeping on the German sea, which washes Norway, (*u*) Greenland, and Iceland, the pilot of some small skiff, ready to sink in the night, mistakes for some island, and, as mariners relate, fixes anchor into his scales, and moors by his side under the lee, while night covers the sea with darkness, and keeps off the desired morning) in such manner lay Satan, prodigiously stretched out and huge in length, chained upon the burning lake; nor had he ever risen, or lifted his head from thence, but that the will and high permission of the all-ruling power, left him at large to his own dark purposes and designs; that with

(*s*) *Tarsus*: In a cave near this city Typhon was buried, according to some authors, whom our author follows; but others say it was under mount *Ætna*. Strabo says, that *Anchiale* and *Tarsus* were built by *Sardanapalus*, the last emperor of the Assyrian monarchy, about A.M. 3242, both in one day: and that *Tarsus* excelled *Athens*, *Alexandria*, and *Rome* for polite literature.

Tarsus; Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *i. e.* *searched* or *found out*. The chief city of *Cilicia*, in the Lesser Asia upon the river *Cyd-nus*, founded by *Tarshish* the second son of *Javan*, Gen. x. 4. now called *Terasse* and *Tarsis*, about 304 miles from Jerusalem towards the north. It is famous for the flight of *Jonas* the prophet, for being the birth place of *St. Paul*, and many other learned men.

(*t*) *Leviathan*; Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *i. e.* *a heap of serpents*; as if many serpents were gathered together into one, to make up that one huge creature: some take it to be the whale, but the whale hath no scales; others the crocodile or alligator. It is beautifully described, Job xli. 15.

(*u*) *Norway*; Sax. *i. e.* *the north way*. A country on the north of Europe, about 1300 miles in length, and 260 in breadth. Here the German Ocean, which washeth Norway, Greenland, and Iceland: the whales live in these cold northern seas, and also in the cold coast of *Patægonia*, near the Straits of *Magellan*, in great abundance; but rarely in the warm, because of their excessive fatness: for they would melt and be parboiled in hot waters.

repeated crimes he might heap upon himself damnation; at the same time that he sought to bring evil upon others; and might be mortified to see, how all his malice only served to bring forth grace, infinite goodness and mercy, shewn to Man, who should be seduced by him, but upon himself wrath, vengeance poured out, and threefold confusion.

Thus permitted, he raises up his mighty stature from off the pool, and driving the flames backward on each hand, they roll in pointed spires, and leave in the middle an horrid vale: then with outstretched wings he flies upward, floating along upon the dusky air, that never before had borne such a weight; at length he alighted upon dry land, if that may be properly called so, that ever burned with solid, as the lake did with liquid fire; the colour of which was as when the force of pent-up subterranean wind, removes a hill torn from (x) Pelorus, or the shattered sides of thundering mount *Ætna*; (y) whose combustible and bituminous entrails from

(x) *Pelorus*; Lat. Gr. Heb. and Phœn. A *pilot*; or Gr. from *Pelorus* an African pilot, whom they say Hannibal slew and buried, supposing he had betrayed him; but finding his mistake, he erected a statue for him in a high place near the sea, which he called *Peloris*. It is one of the three promontories of Sicily, on the north side, about a mile and a half from Italy, now called *Capo di Faro*, Ital. i. e. *the cape of the light-house*. But here it is taken for the whole island of Sicily, which is very subject to earthquakes.

(y) *Ætna*; Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *Attuna*, i. e. a *furnace*, a *chimney*, or *Etuna*, i. e. a *mist*; because of the perpetual smoke ascending from the top of it. Pindar, an ancient Greek poet, calls it a celestial column, from its height, being the highest mountain there; on the top of it one may see all the island, and to Africa. A volcano, or burning mountain on the east side of Sicily, about 6 miles in compass, 100 feet perpendicular, and a mile of ascent; which always casts up smoke, flames, ashes, and sometimes great stones, liquid metal and sulphur, which devour all things before it. This mountain has burnt above 3000

thence catching fire, working with mineral force, assists the winds, and leaves a parched and singed-up bottom, mixed with stench and smoke. No better resting-place than this was found by the unblessed feet of Satan, who was immediately followed by Beelzebub; both of them glorying to have escaped from the burning lake, which they imputed to their own natural and recovered strength, and not to the permission of God.

Is this the kingdom? said the fallen archangel. (z) Is this the soil, the climate? This the seat that we must exchange for heaven? This dismal gloom for that heavenly light? Then be it so; since he who is now absolute Sovereign can decree and bid what shall be right; to be farthest from him is best, since he whom reason makes but equal, force hath made supreme above his equals. Ye happy fields where joy dwells for ever! farewell. Hail horrors! hail this infernal world! and thou profoundest hell, farthest from heaven, receive me! I am thy new possessor, I am one who bring a mind which is not to be changed by time or place; for the mind is its own place, and can of itself make a heaven of hell, or a hell of heaven. What matter is it where I am, if I am still the same, and what I should be, only that I am less than he, whom thunder has made greater? At least here we shall be free, the Thunderer

years past, but is not in the least consumed; it hath snow upon the top, vineyards and fruitful pastures on the sides, and at the bottom. It hath had nine terrible eruptions that we know of; the most dreadful were in *A.D.* 1538, 1669, and 1693. It is now called *Gibello* by the Arabs, i. e. *the mountain*, by way of eminence. Besides this there are divers other volcanos in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, which are caused by the abundance of sulphur in their bowels.

(z) *Arch-angel*, Gr. i. e. an *arch* or *principal angel*, who has power over others. See Dan. viii. 16. Luke i. 19. Rev. xii. 7. Here, Satan. And probably he is the only *arch-angel* that is out of heaven.

hath not built this place for his envy, he will not drive us out from hence, we may reign secure here, and if I am to make my choice, I should think it worth my ambition to reign, though but in hell; thinking it better to reign in hell, than to serve in heaven. But why do we let our faithful friends, the numerous companions, and copartners of our loss, lie thus astonished on the gulf of burning fire, and not call them to share with us their part also in this unhappy habitation, or with reunited arms to try what may be yet recovered in heaven, or what more is possible to be lost in hell. So spoke Satan, and Beelzebub replied:

Leader of those bright armies, which none but the Omnipotent could ever have overcome; if they but once hear that voice, their greatest surety of hope in fears, and dangers, which they have so often heard in the worst extremes, and which in the hazardous edge of battle, and in all assaults has been their surest signal, they will soon recover, take new courage, and revive, though they now lie in extreme misery, and prostrate on yonder lake of fire, as we not long since did, astonished and confounded, which is no wonder, considering that we fell from such a dangerous height.

He had scarce done speaking when the superior fiend Satan was moving towards the shore; his heavy shield of heavenly workmanship, massy, large, and round, was cast behind him; the broad compass of it hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb the Tuscan (*a*) artist (*b*) views through optic glasses in an

(*a*) *Tuscan*; one of the Tusei or Hetrusci; the ancient people of Tuscany in Italy, that came from Phœnicia, but Justin says from Lydia, L. 20. The Latins had long wars with them, and at last conquered them under Servius Tullus, the 6th king

(*b*) *Artist*; *Fr. Lat.* One that is skilled in any art or science: Milton means Galilæo Galilæi, an excellent astronomer, and native of Florence, the capital of Tuscany, chief philosopher and

evening, from the top of Fesole (*c*) or else in (*d*) Valdarno, to discover mountains, rivers, or new lands on her globe; the tallest pine hewn on the mountains of Norway, to be a mast for the ship of some great admiral, were but little in comparison of his spear, with which he walked to support his uneasy steps over the burning sulphur (not like his former steps in heaven) and the heat of hell smote on him sore besides, for it was surrounded and covered with fire; nevertheless he endured it, until he came to the brink of that inflamed sea, where he stood and called his legions, angelic forms, who lay intranced and confounded with their fall; as thick as leaves in autumn, that fall into the brooks in

of Rome. It is now a fine country, subject to the grand duke of Tuscany, in extent about 144 miles. It was called *Hetruria* now *Tuscany*, and the people *Tuscans* or *Hetrurians*.

mathematician to the grand duke of Tuscany; who invented those glasses whereby he discovered spots in the sun, mountains, rivers, &c. in the moon; the nature of the milky-way; the various appearances of Saturn; many new stars about Orion and Cancer; and 62,500 stars, whereof 63 only appeared to the bare eye. For these useful discoveries he was imprisoned five years by the Inquisition, condemned by Pope Urban VIII. forced to recant at 60, and died at 78 years of age, *A. D.* 1642. But that first invention was owing to Roger Bacon, fellow of Martin-College of Oxford, long before Galilæo. And others ascribe it to Mr. James Metius of Amsterdam. But Galilæo brought it to vast perfection.

(*c*) *Fesolæ*; vulg. *Fiessole* and *Fiezzole*; called *Fessalæ* by Tit. Livius, Pliny, and Silius Italicus. It was an ancient city of Tuscany near Florence, the residence of the Tuscan augurs, who taught the old Romans their superstitious divinations, sacrifices, &c. Here the great Galilæo resided, and made his astronomical observations from the top of the towers thereof.

(*d*) *Valdarno*; Ital. from the Lat. i. e. *the valley on the river Arnus*. It is a fruitful vale on the river Arno, which runs through Tuscany and by Florence into the Tuscan sea.

Valombrosa, (*e*) where the trees cover over and shade the stream; or like scattered sedge afloat, when (*f*) Orion, attended with boisterous winds, hath vexed the coast of the Red Sea, (*g*) whose waves overthrew Busiris (*h*) and his Memphian (*i*) horsemen and chariots,

(*e*) *Vallombrosa*; Ital. Lat. *i. e. a shady valley*; a fruitful and pleasant valley in Tuscany, full of shades and fruitful trees.

(*f*) *Orion*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. urine* or *tempest*. An Astron. T. It is a southern constellation of thirty stars, rising on the 9th of March, and setting in November; and bringeth storms and rain with it. See Job ix. 9. Amos v. 8. Some call Orion the god of the winds.

(*g*) *Red-sea*; Heb. It is so called from Esau or Edom, because of the red-coloured pottage which he purchased of Jacob; for his dominions lay along that sea, and from him the country was called Idumea, *i. e. red*: and so the old Egyptians called it *Rythra*, *i. e. red*, which the Greeks turned into Erythra or Erythras, and the Latins into *Mare Erythræum*, *i. e. the red-sea*. But in the Hebrew it is called *Suph*, *i. e. the sea of sedge* or *weeds*, which grow and float upon it in abundance. This sea parts Egypt from Arabia, and therefore it is called also the Arabian gulf.

(*h*) *Busiris*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. a manager of oxen*; because he butchered men like oxen. A cruel tyrant of Egypt in the time of Moses, who under a pretence of intreating strangers, sacrificed them upon his altars. He built the famous city of Zoan or Tanais, and made it the seat of his kingdom. This fable signifies that Pharoah, who put the Israelites to a very hard slavery like oxen; for which Hercules, the true Moses, destroyed him and all his attendants in the Red Sea. Some call him Amenophis, but others Cenchres.

(*i*) *Memphian*; of or belonging to Memphis; Heb. *i. e. a populous country* or *great city*. In Heb. it is called Moph and Noph, which the Greeks turned into Memphis. This great city was built, as some say, a little before the flood; and being afterwards repaired and enlarged, it became the royal city of Egypt, until the time of the Ptolomies, who resided at Alexandria; because it was built by Alexander the Great. It was a great city, seven leagues in circuit; because in length of time four cities became one; and stood on the west side of the Nile.

while with treacherous hatred they pursued the Israelites, who from the safe shore beheld their carcasses floating, and their broken chariot wheels; so thick lay these, abject and lost, in a manner covering the flood, and in the utmost consternation and amazement at their hideous and unhappy change.

CHAPTER II.

Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then confounded; they rise. Their numbers. Array of battle. Their chief leaders named, according to the idols known in Canaan and the countries adjoining.

SATAN called so loud, that his voice resounded through all the hollow deep of hell.

Princes, (*k*) potentates, (*l*) warriors, chief powers of heaven, which once was yours, but now is lost; if such an astonishment as this can seize eternal spirits, or rather have you chose this place to repose your wearied virtue in, after the fatigues of the battle, for the ease you find to slumber here, as if it were in the blessed mansions of heaven; or have ye sworn in this abject

It was destroyed by the Arabs, as the prophets foretold; and out of its ruins they built another on the other side of the river called *Alcair*, Heb. i. e. the city; which the French call *Grand Cairo*, i. e. the great city. Here it is taken for the whole people of Egypt, in the days of Busiris.

(*k*) *Princes*; Fr. Ital. Span. Dut. Lat. i. e. those who take the first place; governors, chiefs, ringleaders, principal or most excellent persons in a kingdom. Sovereign angels, who have the superintendence over princes upon earth, Dan. x. 21. Here the chiefs among the devils, Dan. x. 13. 20.

(*l*) *Potentates*; Fr. Ital. Lat. i. e. mighty ones; governors, rulers of nations. Here, some grandees among them.

manner to worship the Conqueror, who even this minute beholds cherubim and seraphim rowling in the flood, with their banners and ensigns scattered, till perhaps ere long, those who pursued us out of heaven discern the advantage, and descending from above, thus drooping as we are, tread us down; or with thunderbolts linked together, transfix us to the very bottom of this gulf: therefore awake, arise now, or else be for ever fallen!

They heard him and were ashamed, and sprung up upon the wing; as when men who are used to watch on duty are found sleeping, by those of whom they stand in dread, get up in surprise, and begin to stir about before they are well awake. Not that they did not see the evil condition which they were in, or feel the fierce pain, yet they soon obeyed their general's voice, and appeared innumerable; as when the potent rod of Moses, in the evil day of Egypt, (m) was

(m) *Egypt*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. the land of the Ægypti, Copti, and Copti*, from Coptus the metropolis of Thebais, a city mentioned by Strabo and Plutarch; or from Cobtim, the people and first king that settled in that country, and of the posterity of Ham; or from Ægyptus, the brother of Danaus, and an ancient king of it. This monarchy lasted 1,300 years, until Alexander the Great. In the Old Testament it is called the land of Ham and Mizraim. (Mizraim signifies afflictions, and is a prediction of the tribulations the people of God were afterwards to suffer there.) The Greeks called it Egyptos, q. Ge Coptoon, and Chamia or Chemia, *i. e. the land of the Copti and of Cham*; the Turks and Arabs call it Mizri and Misr. to this day. An ancient and fertile kingdom of Africa; having Ethiopia on the south, the Red Sea and Isthmus of Suez on the east, the Mediterranean Sea on the north, and the deserts of Lybia on the west. It is about 650 miles in length, and 310 in breadth. It was peopled soon after the deluge, had kings in the days of Abraham, Gen. xii. 10. celebrated for the great skill of the people in polite literature. Nebuchadnezzar vanquished it, Cambyzes brought it into the power of the Persians, A.M. 3479.

stretched forth over the land, and called up a black cloud of locusts, (*n*) brought on by the eastern wind, that over the kingdom of wicked Pharaoh (*o*) hung like

Then it fell into the hands of the Grecians for 300 years. The Romans reduced it into a province, and called it Agusta, who held it for 313 years. The Saracens, then the Mamalukes, and at last the Turks became masters of it. There is little rain, but the overflowing of the Nile yearly renders it very fertile: so that it was always a granary to Canaan, Arabia, Greece and Rome, and is now to Constantinople; though sometimes there have been famines there. The harvest is in our March and April. The evil day of Egypt was under the ten plagues mentioned Exod. vii. 8, 9, 10, and 11.

(*n*) *Locusts*; Ital. Lat. *q. loca ustans*, i. e. *burning or laying places waste*. They are mischievous flies, like grasshoppers, that destroy the grass, corn, and fruits, wherever they go; very common in Egypt, Africa, and other hot countries; they live about five months only: but these were extraordinary, both for their number and the end for which they were sent. The ninth plague of Egypt sent by God to humble that proud tyrant, Pliny reckons 30 sorts of them; some are three feet long, which the Jews, Arabs, Africans, and Americans do eat, see Mat. iii. 4. Cockburn's journey, p. 58. and says a whole city in Africa was laid waste by them; they destroyed part of Germany, *A.D.* 852. To those Milton resembles the fallen angels for the vast multitudes of them; for they come in clouds, about 18 miles in length, and 12 in breadth, which eclipse the sun, darken the air, cover the earth, make a sad stench when they die, and are exactly described, Exod. x. 4. Prov. xxx. 27. and Joel ii. 2. 12.

(*o*) *Pharaoh*; old Egyptian, i. e. *a crocodile*; for the people worshipped that creature out of fear. Josephus translates it a *king*. Pharaoh was the common name of their kings from the beginning to the conquest of Alexander the Great, for 1660 years, under 47 kings; as that of Abimelech, Heb. i. e. *my father the king*, among the Philistines; Augustus and Cæsar was among the Romans; yet many of them had proper names, as Sesostris, So, Neco, Ophra, &c. After Alexander 12 princes reigned, who were called Ptolomy, Gr. i. e. *warlike*, for 300 years; and Cleopatra, Gr. i. e. *the glory of the country*. She

night, and darkened all the land of Nilus; (*p*) as numberless were seen those bad angels moving slowly on the wing, under the concavity or hollow canopy of hell,

was vanquished by Julius Cæsar, *A.M.* 3974. And then Egypt fell into the hands of the Romans. This king's proper name was Ramases Miamum; who came to the crown 58 years after the death of Joseph; and Busiris by the Greeks.

(*p*) *Nile*; O. Egypt, or contracted from *Nabal*, Heb. *i. e. the river*; for that language came near to the Heb. and in the Old Test. it is called Nabal Mizzam, *i. e. the river of the Egyptians*; because it is the chief and only river there; from which the Greeks and the Targum call it Nilos. It is usual in many countries to call their chief rivers so. Thus the Ganges in India, thus Meschacebe (which the French call Mississippi) from Cebe, *i. e. the river*; and Mescha, *i. e. the great*; the Great River. The Nile is also called Sehor, Josh. xiii. 3. from thence the Ethiopians named it Shieri, Shihri, and Siris, until it passes into the confines of Egypt and the last cataract; these words are of the same signification in the Ethiopic, and signify *black*; because the waters of it are black and turbid. It is the noblest river in all Africa, rising in and running through Ethiopia from south to north; it divides Egypt in the middle, waters it all over once a year, *viz.* June, July, August, and part of September; and discharges itself into the Mediterranean Sea, at seven months formerly, see Isa. xi. 15. But only two of them are navigable at this time, one at Damietta, and another at Rosetta; the other five being small ones, filled up with sands or artificial canals; after a long course of 1000 German miles, and 4000 English. The spring of it was unknown to the ancients, even to a proverb.——Alexander the Great consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon to find it; Sesöstris and Ptolemy, kings of Egypt, sought for it in vain; and Julius Cæsar said he would give over the pursuit of the civil wars, if he was sure to find it. But now it is known to be in a plain at the foot of a mountain in Abyssinia, surrounded with high mountains, from two fountains about the wideness of a cart wheel, 30 paces distant, whose bottoms are 16 or 17 feet deep. These sources the Ethiopians call Abain and Saccahela, *i. e. the father of the waters*. The old inhabitants worshipped the Nile, Pharaoh paid his devotions to it every morning; and there Moses ad-

between fires that were above, below, and on all sides, till the spear of Satan their great commander was lifted up, as a signal given to direct their course: they alighted down in exact order on the firm brimstone, a multitude greater than ever the populous north, Goths, Vandals, Huns, or other barbarous nations, poured from her frozen climes of Norway, Sweden, or Denmark, to pass the Rhine (*q*) or the Danube, (*r*) when

dressed him so frequently during the ten plagues; they dedicated a magnificent temple to it in Memphis, with many priests and rites, because they thought it was the sole cause of all their plenty. But Constantine demolished it, and dispersed the priests; whereat the poor infidels made grievous lamentations, saying, the river would desert them for ever. It overflows some parts of Ethiopia, and all Egypt every year, which is caused by vast snow and rains falling upon these mountains of Ethiopia, which being melted by the heat of the sun, render the adjacent countries most fruitful; other rivers do the like.

(*q*) *Rhene*, or *Rhine*; Teut. *i. e.* *pure*, because of the clearness of the waters; or Gr. *i. e.* the *flood* or *river*; because it is a vast one. A large river in Germany, rising in the Alps, parts France and Germany, and after a long course of 1000 miles, throws itself into the German ocean, in two large mouths near the Briel; therefore Virgil calls it *Bicornis*, *i. e.* having two horns or passages.

(*r*) *Danaw*, *Danow*, *Danube*, and by the natives, *Tonaw*, Teut. *i. e.* *thunder*; because of the thundering noise of its rapid current and three grand cataracts. Or *Danubius*, Lat. q. *Danivius*. *i. e.* *snowy*, from the abundance of snow that falls upon the adjacent mountains, and swells the river; or from *Danai*, an ancient people that are said to have dwelt thereabouts. A grand river in Europe; it riseth in Suaben, runs through Germany, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, &c. into the Euxine sea in 6 or 7 mouths (but only two are navigable) after a course of near 2000 miles, wherein it receives 60 other rivers, whereof 30 are navigable. It is very broad, and 200 feet deep in divers places; and abounds with many large islands and villages. At the confines of Illyricum it changes its name, and for 400 miles is called the *Ister*, q. *Ester*; contracted from *Es-*

her barbarous sons came like a deluge into the south, and spread beneath Gibraltar, (s) as far as the utmost limits of Afric.

Forthwith the heads and leaders from every squadron and every band haste where their great commander stood; godlike shapes and forms, much surpassing the beauties and perfections of Man; princely dignities and powers, that once in heaven had sat upon thrones, though now on the records of heaven there be not the least memorial of their names, by their rebellion blotted out from the books of life: nor had they got themselves new names among mankind, till after a time wandering over the earth, through God's high sufferance, and for the trial of Man, they corrupted the greatest part of Mankind, to forsake their God and Creator, and to transform the invisible glory of him who made them, oftentimes to the image of a brute; which they adorned with gay ceremonies, and rites that were full of pomp, and gold; and sometimes worshipped the devils themselves for deities, who were then known to Men by various names, and figured under various images and idols through the heathen world.

treon, *i. e.* the *flood*, or river, as I think, for I cannot find the original derivation in any author. Dionysius calls it the sacred Ister. The country thereabout is called Istria and the people Istri.

(s) *Gibralter; Arab. Jibil Tharek*, *i. e.* the mountain of Tharek captain of the Moors, *A.D.* 718, when from Africa they invaded Spain, and pitched first upon that promontory, which is upon the mouth of the streights between Spain and Africa. These streights were formerly called the streights of Hercules and of Gades. From that time the Moors possessed Spain 760 years, until 900,000 of them were expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella, *A.D.* 1492. But the Moorish is still spoken in some parts of it, and many of their customs and savage dispositions continue in the blood of the Spaniards to this day.

Their names then being known, it is not difficult to say who was the first, who last, that roused from their astonishment and the gulf of hell, at the call of their great emperor; who next in worth came singly where he stood, on the brink of the gulf, while the inferior multitude of the fallen angels, promiscuous and assembled in disorder, stand far distant from him. The chief who approached near him were those, who roaming from the pit of hell to seek what prey they could devour on earth, durst (though long after this) fix their seats next the seat of God, and their altars by his altar; (*t*) adored as gods among the nations, and durst abide the Lord thundering out of Sion, throned between cherubim: nay, they often placed their abominable

(*t*) *Altar*; *Tut. Dut. Fr. Lat.* i. e. *high*; because it was raised high above the ground: or *to burn*; because sacrifices were offered upon altars. From the Heb. *arar*, i. e. *to pray or imprecate*; or of *El*, God, and *tar*, a place appointed for the worship of God. A place raised up with stones and earth, whereon men sacrificed their oblations to the true God. Altars were used for the worship of God by Adam, Noah, and all the patriarchs from the beginning of the world, and long before temples, Gen. iv. 4, 5. 8. 22, 23. 29. 9, 10. Exod. xx. 24. And from them the heathens took the use of altars, whereof they had three sorts. 1. Those to the celestial gods, which were as high as a man of a middle size might use, and erected upon hills, groves, the highways: that of the Olympian Jupiter was 22 feet high. 2. Those to the infernal, were placed upon a little trench below the ground. And 3. for the terrestrial deities, which were erected upon the ground; but low, flagged with sod, and covered with sacred vervaine. Altars were esteemed most sacred; for upon them they made their most solemn vows and oaths, by laying their hands upon them in a very solemn manner, as we find in the practice of Hannibal, &c. See Corn. Nepos, Cicero pro Flac. Tit. Liv. &c. They never permitted whores and murderers to approach them.

shrines (*u*) within his sanctuary, (*x*) and profaned his solemn feasts and holy rites with accursed things, daring to affront his light with their darkness.

First of all Moloch, (*y*) that horrid king, wet with the blood of human sacrifices, and with the tears of pa-

(*u*) *Shrines*; Fr. Sax. Lat. *i. e.* desks, cabinets, or closets. The Saxons meant thereby closets or temples, like the Lares among the old Romans; wherein they kept the reliques of their saints, and the latter their gods. In these they made their prayers. Shrines were the altars or temples of those idols, where these devils were worshipped. Here, the temple of the true God was made a repository for those idols; for so Solomon, Manasses, and other wicked kings of Judah did.

(*x*) *Sanctuary*; Fr. from the Lat. *i. e.* a holy and sanctified place. The most holy part of the tabernacle, within the veil, and in the west end of Solomon's temple, adorned with two cherubims, the ark of the covenant, and the extraordinary presence of God. It was unlawful for any man to enter into it, but the high-priest only, and that but once in the year, on the great day of atonement, which answered to the first of our September. The most sacred place was called the Holy of Holies, *i. e.* the most holy place, Levit. xvi. 23.

(*y*) *Moloch*, *Molech*, *Milcom*, and *Melcom*; *i. e.* a king. An idol of the Ammonites strictly forbidden the Jews, Lev. xviii. 21, and xx. 2. The prophets denounced and God executed grievous judgments upon all the worshippers of it; and no wonder, for it was a most infamous idol: 1st, In his assuming the name of a king, and robbing God of his sovereignty and glory. 2dly, In the inhumanity of the worship paid him. Moloch was a hollow statue of brass, with the head of an ox and the hands of a man, with seven chapels. It was made red hot, then the priests threw the sacrifices into its arms, where they were burnt to death in a dreadful manner. The Carthaginians offered 200 children of their nobility to it at one time, and 300 at another; which made Darius send ambassadors to Carthage, with an edict to forbid them that inhumanity. See Justin. hist. L. xix. cap. 4. 490 years before Jesus Christ. The Americans 5 or 6000 children every year; and one of their kings sacrificed 64,080 men in the space of four days, A.D. 1486. He that offered his son kissed the idol, Hos. v. 2. It was the Saturn of the old Ro-

rents, though for the noise of loud drums and timbrels, the cries of their children, who passed through the fire to his cruel idol, are scarcely heard; the Ammonites (*z*) worshipped him in Rabba, (*a*) and the watery plains about that city: in Argob, (*b*) and in Basan, (*c*) as far as the extent of the river Arnon; (*d*) and not contented

mans. This devilish abomination was laid aside in Europe by the decree of Constantine I. A blessed effect of the Christian religion; therefore our author calls it justly horrid, dreadful king. It was the sun, and the seven chapels signified the seven planets, whereof he is the chief. See Macrobius. 1. Q. Curt. L. iv. Diod. Siculus.

(*z*) *Ammonites*; the posterity of Ben-Ammi, Heb. i. e. the son of my people. The son of Lot by his youngest daughter, Gen. xix. 38. A mighty nation in Arabia Felix, bordering upon Canaan; but miserable idolaters, and always mortal enemies to the people of God; for which God cut them off the face of the earth. They dwelt beyond mount Gilead about 96 miles from Jerusalem north eastward, and were infamous worshippers of this idol, 1 Kings xi. 7.

(*a*) *Rabba* or *Rabbath*; Heb. i. e. *great*. The chief city of the Ammonites on the north-east side of Jordan and the river Arnon. It was well watered by the springs of mount Arnon and mount Gilead; therefore it was called the city of waters, 2 Sam. xii. David took and plundered it, and made all the inhabitants slaves. There the brave Uriah lost his life, 2 Sam. xii. 26.

(*b*) *Argob*; Heb. i. e. a lump of earth or gravel. A large, very fruitful, and populous country, lying on the east of Jordan among the mountains, and belonged to Og king of Basan, near mount Gilead, Deut. iii. 13, 14. Afterwards it was called Trachonitis, Gr. i. e. *rocky* or *stony*. See Luke iii. 1.

(*c*) *Basan*, or *Bashan*; Heb. i. e. *in ivory* or *tooth*, because it lay between two ranges of mountains, like the tooth of an elephant. It was also called *Peræa*, Gr. i. e. *beyond*, because it lay beyond Jordan, northward from Jerusalem. A fine fruitful country beyond Jordan, from the river Arnon to mount Hermon.

(*d*) *Arnon*; Heb. i. e. *a wild ash*; because these trees grew upon the banks of it in abundance. It is a small river of the Moabites on the east side of Jordan, rising in mount Gilead, watereth these countries, and runs into the Dead Sea, twenty

with so near an approach, he led by fraud the heart of wise Solomon, (e) to build him a temple over against the temple of God, on a hill just without Jerusalem, and made his grove in the pleasant valley of Hinnom, (f) by that reason sometimes called Tophet, (g) and black Gehenna, (h) and likened to hell. Next

miles from Jerusalem eastward. It was the uttermost boundary between the Moabites and Ammonites. Num. xxi. 13.

(e) *Solomon, Salomon, or Schèlamoh*; Heb. i. e. *peace or peaceable*, because he was a peaceable prince, not like his father. The son of David by Bathsheba (Heb. i. e. the daughter of the oath) the third king of Israel, and the wisest of all mortals, since the fall of Adam, 1 Kings iv. 29. Yet he fell into this abominable idolatry, and built a temple to this devil, near that which he himself had erected to the living and true God, to gratify his idolatrous wives, 1 Kings x. 5. Ahaz, Manasses, and other impious successors followed his shameful example, which brought divine vengeance upon them. He was born in the year of the world 2971, before Jesus Christ 1029. Built, besides other edifices, a famous academy upon mount Sion, where he taught philosophy, Prov. ix. 1. And from him Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Trismegistus, &c. borrowed their principles of philosophy. He reigned 40 years, lived 60, and was the saddest instance of human frailty extant; yet he repented, was pardoned, and saved.

(f) *Hinnom*; Heb. i. e. *gracious*. This was the name of the possessor of the valley, which is called also the valley of Ben-hinnom. Heb. i. e. the son of Hinnom. It lies at the foot of mount Moriah and mount Olivet, southward. There stood the grove of Moloch, wherein they offered children and other sacrifices to this cruel idol. It was also called the valley of Tophet, and our Saviour likened it to hell. The valley of Jehosaphat runs across the mouth of it, which is so called, because there that pious king was buried.

(g) *Tophet*; Heb. i. e. a *drum*, because idolaters beat drums, &c. to drown the cries of miserable creatures, which were broiled to death in that pit of fire. A cruelty, which God never commanded, always abhorred, strictly prohibited, and severely punished, Jerem. vii. 31. xix. 5.

(h) *Gehenna*; Gr. from the Heb. i. e. the land of Hinnom; for Hinnom was the lord of it; and Tophet, because idolaters beat

came Chemos, (*i*) an obscene idol of which the Moabites stood in great dread, who inhabited from Aroar (*k*) to Nebo, (*m*) and to the southermost mountains of Aba-

drums in the grove of Moloch which stood there. But our Saviour and others mean the place of the damned thereby, Mat. xviii. 9. because of the dreadful torments there.

(*i*) *Chemos* or *Kemos*; II. Heb. i. *e. swift* or *speedy*, from the swiftness of the sun, which this idol represented. Others say hid and concealed; because of the shameful prostitutions and rites of this idolatry. Some take it to be the filthy Priapus of the Greeks and Romans. The idol of the Moabites and Midianites. It is frequently mentioned in holy writ, and the worship of it is very strictly forbidden, threatened and punished. Solomon built a temple or high-place for it also, 1 Kings xi. 7. But pious Josias destroyed it, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. Chemos shall go into captivity with her priests and princes; and Moab shall be ashamed of Chemosh, Jer. xxviii. 7. 13.

(*k*) *Aroar* or *Aroer*; *i. e.* heat or destroyed and rooted out; because Jephtha won a memorable battle near it, Judg. xi. A city of the Moabites on the banks of the river Arnon in the land of Gilead, twenty-four miles from Jerusalem eastward, Josh. xii. 2. It fell to the tribe of Gad, who repaired and fortified it and other cities; but called them by other names, that there might be no remains of idolatry left among them, according to the law, Numb. xxxii. 24. There was another city of this name near Damascus in Syria, Is. vii.

(*m*) *Nebo*; Heb. *i. e.* a *prophecy*. A city and mountain of the Moabites, near to mount Pisgah, twenty miles from Jerusalem eastward, on the east side of the Dead Sea, belonging to Sihon or Og, very good for pasture and cattle, being a mountainous country. Upon the mountain Moses had a fair view of Canaan, died, and was buried, Deut. xxxiv. 1. And there Jeremy hid the tabernacle, ark, and altar of incense, in a hollow cave, 2 Maccab. ii. 5. †† *Obs.* Nebo, Heshbon, Sibmah, Elealeh, &c. were rebuilt by the Reubenites, at the permission of Moses; who gave them new names, to destroy all reliets of idolatry. See Numb. xxxii. 37. as they were commanded, Deut. xii. 2, 3.

rim, (*n*) in Heshbon (*o*) and Horonaim, (*p*) the kingdom of Seon, (*q*) beyond the flowery valley of Sibmah, which is covered with vines, and Eleale, (*r*) as far as the pool Asphaltus. (*s*) Another of these fallen angels,

(*n*) *Abarim*; Heb. i. e. *bridges* or *passages*; because of divers fords over Jordan near to these mountains. A ridge of mountains lying along the east of the Dead Sea, belonging to Moab, which part the kingdoms of the Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites. Nebo, Pisgah, and Peor were several mountains in this tract, Num. xxxiii. 47. Deut. xxx. 49.

(*o*) *Hesebon* for *Heshbon*, Heb. i. e. *numbering*, *thinking* or *instructing*; because there was an academy or school. The royal city of Sihon or Schon, king of the Amorites, therefore Sihon is called king of Heshbon, Deut. 1. 4. It was 20 miles from Jordan on the east. He had taken it from the king of Moab, but Moses subdued him, and divided all his country to the tribe of Reuben. This country was well watered and fruitful; for it lay between the river Arnon and Jabbock upon the borders of the Ammonites, Num. xxi. 26.

(*p*) *Horonaim*; Heb. i. e. *the mountains* or *furies*; and in the Syriac *liberties*. Two cities of the Moabites, one was called the Upper, and the other the Inferior or Lower, Is. xv. 5. There Sanballat, the bitter enemy of Nehemiah, was born, Nehemiah ii. 10.

(*q*) *Seon* or *Sihon*, Heb. i. e. *rooting up* or *destroying utterly*; because he was a cruel oppressor of his neighbours. A king of the Amorites, who refused the Israelites a passage through his dominions into Canaan, which occasioned a bloody war; but they vanquished him, and possessed all his country, Num. xxi. 21. 32. He had taken Horonaim from the Moabites; therefore Milton judiciously calls these cities the realm of Seon.

(*r*) *Eleale* or *Elelaeh*; Heb. i. e. *the ascension* or *burnt-offering of God*. A town six miles from Heshbon, belonging to Sihon, beyond Jordan to the east, and thirty-six miles from Jerusalem. It fell to the tribe of Reuben, after the conquest of these countries, Num. xxxii. 37. It abounded with vines and other good fruits, and was a strong city in the days of St. Jerome; he flourished in the 4th century, and died 420.

(*s*) *Asphaltos* or *Asphaltus*, Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *yielding bitumen* or *sulphur*. A lake of sulphureous, salt and bitter wa-

was Baal-Peor, (*t*) an abominable idol, who enticed the children of Israel in Sittim, (*u*) on their march from Egypt, to do him wanton rites, which cost them

ter in Judea, where Sodom and Gomorrah stood, thirty-five miles from Jerusalem to the east; about twenty-four leagues long, and six or seven broad. On the east and south it is enclosed with exceeding high mountains, viz. Abarim, Nebo, Pisgah, Peor; on the north with the plains of Jericho; and on the west with the land belonging to the tribe of Judah, Jerusalem, &c. It is called the Dead Sea, because no fish live in it; or from the heavy stagnated nature of its waters: the Salt Sea, because it is of a brackish taste; the Sea of the Plain, the East Sea, because it was easterly from Jerusalem. See Joel iii. 20. And the sea of Sodom. It is a pool or lake of standing water; for though Jordan, Arnon, Jabbock, Dibon, Zered, and Cedron run into it, yet it hath no visible discharge. Iron, lead, or any other weighty matter doth swim upon the top of it. Vespasian threw some condemned criminals into the deepest place of it, and manacled; yet they rose with such violence as if a storm had sent them up. If men or beasts drink of it mixed with water, it makes them exceeding sick; and birds that fly over it, fall down dead. This pitch resembleth bulls without heads, and is good for pitching ships, cables and medicines. Besides Moses, Strabo, Tacitus, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancient historians have left accounts of it, and mostly from him. See Gen. xix.

(*t*) *Peor*, *Baal-Peor*, and *Baal-Pheor*; III. Heb. i. e. *a naked god or lord*, or, he that sheweth his nakedness publicly. An idol of the Moabites and Midianites, the same as Chemos, the beastly and obscene Priapus of the Greeks and Romans. An abominable idol, frequently mentioned in holy writ with the utmost abhorrence, as it well deserved. Jeremiah calls it so by way of disgrace, ch. xl. 7. This name is more usual than the other Chemos. The heathens took this idolatry from the history of Noah, when he lay exposed, Gen. ix. 21. A sad original, but a worse copy. A mountain that bears his name belonged to the Moabites on the east of Jordan; because there was Beth Peor, i. e. the temple of Peor upon mount Peor, wherein he was worshipped. The Moabites enticed the Israelites to worship him, which brought a sad plague upon them, Numb. xxv. 1.

(*u*) *Sittim* or *Shittim*; i. e. *scourges* or *thorns*. A place in the plains of Moab, sixty furlongs, or eight miles from Jordan,

abundance of woe; yet from thence he extended his lustful festivals, even to that scandalous hill, which was by the grove of murderous Moloch; so fixing lust hard by hate, till the good king Josias (*x*) drove them both thence back again to hell. Along with these came they who were worshipped from the great river Euphrates, (*y*) to the brook that parts Egypt from Syria,

where the Israelites encamped last under the conduct of Moses; and where they were tempted by the wicked counsel of Balaam to commit fornication with the women of Moab, and to sacrifice to this devil; which provoked God to destroy 24,000 of them. Here grew that wood whereof the ark of the covenant was made, *Exod. xxv. 10. xxxvii. 1.*

(*x*) *Josiah*; Heb. *i. e. the fire or zeal of the Lord*. The 18th king of Judah, the pious son of a very wicked father and grandfather. He was a great reformer of religion. He destroyed all those idol-temples and groves, as it was foretold of him by name 360 years before he was born, *1 Kings xiii. 2. 2 Kings xxiii. 10.* He began his reign when he was eight years of age, *A.M. 3363.* Before Jesus Christ 637, and reigned 31 years; being killed in a battle at Megiddo against Necho king of Egypt. Jeremy lamented his death in a divine poem, *2 Chron. xxxv. 25.*

(*y*) *Euphrates*; Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *Phrath* or *Parah*, *i. e. fruitful*; because it renders those countries very fruitful, which it overfloweth at a certain season yearly. The principal of the four rivers of paradise, *Gen. ii. 14.* It is the largest in Asia, and the most famous river upon earth; rising in the mountains of Armenia, the Tygris and many more join it; it waters Mesopotamia, passeth by and through Babylon, renders many countries very fruitful; and after a course of 2000 miles discharges itself into the Persian ocean. In sacred scripture it is called the river, the great river, by way of eminence. It still retaineth the old name by a contraction, *Aferat* and *Frat*: the water of it is very foul; if it stands in a vessel but two hours, the dirt and mud will be two inches thick on the bottom of it. The poet calls it old, because it is one of the first rivers mentioned by Moses, the first and oldest historian in the world. So, *Old Kishon*, *Judges v. 21.*

and had the general names of Baalim (*z*) and Ashtaroth, (*a*) meaning male and female; for spirits when they please can assume either sex, or both, their pure essence is so soft and uncompounded, not confined to material joints and limbs, nor depending on the frail strength of bones, as flesh is; but in what shape they choose, extended or contracted, obscure or bright, can perform their spiritual purposes, and do works either of love or enmity. For those the Jews often forsook the living God, and left his righteous altar unfrequented, bowing down lowly before idols, even in the form of beasts; for which their heads were bowed down as low in battle, and they fell by the spears of despicable enemies.

(*z*) *Baalim*, and *Baal*; IV. Heb. *i. e.* lords and lord. This was the first idol in the world, erected at Babylon in memory of Belus or Nimrod, whom Ninus his son and successor deified after his death; and was worshipped all the world over, though under different names, viz. *Baal-Berith*, *Baal-Gad*, *Baal-Meon*, *Baal-Peor*, *Baal-Semen*, *Baal-zebub*, *Baal-zephon*, &c. by the Greeks, *Zeus*; by the Romans, *Jupiter*; by the Gauls, he was called *Belenus*; by the Saxons, *Thor*: from whence comes our Thursday. He was the sun, who is lord of heaven, and most useful to all the inferior world, worshipped with magnificent temples, altars, invocations, bowings, kisses, sacrifices, &c.

(*a*) *Ashtaroth*, or *Ashtoreth*; V. Heb. Plur. *i. e.* flocks and herds; because sheep, goats, &c. were offered to her. A goddess of the Assyrians, Syrians, Phœnicians, Sidonians, Carthaginians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, &c. but under different names. The queen of heaven, Jer. vii. 18. All meant the moon, as the sun was the lord of heaven: These were the first and principal deities among all nations. She is *Juno* and *Venus* of the Romans, *Easter* of the Saxons, &c. because her grand festival was in April, the old Saxons called it *Easter-monath*: from whence we call ours *Easter*, which happens in March or April, as the Jewish passover did; according to the course of the moon. *Baal* presides over men and all male animals, as being stronger; and *Ashtaroth* over women and the female sex, which are more weak and feeble.

In the same troop with these came *Astoreth*, whom the Phœnicians (*b*) call *Astarte*, (*c*) the queen of heaven, and figure her with a crescent, to whose bright image the virgins of Sidon (*d*) every night sung by moonlight, and paid their vows; which also was often done in Sion, where her temple stood, on the offensive mountain of olives, built by that uxorious king Solomon; whose heart, though it was large, beguiled by fair women from among the heathen, fell to foul idolatry.

Next came *Thammuz*, (*e*) whose annual wound in Lebanon (*f*) allured the damsels of Syria, to lament

(*b*) *Phœnicians*; Heb. q. *Bene-Anak*; i. e. *the sons of Anak*, a gigantic man, who with his race inhabited that country. The people of Phœnicia, Palestine, or Canaan, called the Philistines.

(*c*) *Astarte*, VI. Heb. i. e. *a flock*; from *Ashtoreth*, according to the Phœnician dialect; and one of their goddesses, *Astarte* is *Sephora*, the wife of Moses, and the moon.

(*d*) *Sidon*; Heb. i. e. *a fish*; because of the great plenty and riches, which the inhabitants got by the trade of fish: or of *Sidon* the first son of Canaan, who first built it, Gen. x. 15. i. e. *a hunter*. A sea port town, the metropolis of Phœnicia, older than Tyre, Carthage, or other cities, which the old Phœnicians built upon the Mediterranean Sea. It was taken by the king of Ascalon, a year before the destruction of Troy, and 240 years before the building of Solomon's temple; then they that escaped built Tyre, which is 16 miles from it to the south, and 36 miles from Jerusalem to the north-west. By their great trade and wealth, the Sidonians became very proud, idolatrous and abominable to God: therefore he frequently punished them; now it is very much decayed; as the prophets had foretold. Sidon was famous for purple and other fine dyes, as well as Tyre.

(*e*) *Thammuz*; VI. Egypt. from the Heb. i. e. *hidden or death*; because of the secret, infamous, and obscene rites performed to this idol, which was death to utter. Or from *Thamuz*, Heb. i. e. *June*; because these feasts were kept in June. This goddess was *Thammuz* among the Egyptians, Carthaginians and Jews, but *Adonis* among the Romans, &c.

(*f*) *Lebanon*; Heb. from *Laban*, i. e. *white*; because the top of it appears white with snow: or *frankincence*; because it

his fate in love songs a whole summer's day while the smooth river Adonis (*g*) ran coloured with purple to the sea, supposed to be with the blood of Thammuz wounded every year; the love tale corrupted the daughters of Jerusalem, and warmed them with like heat;

abounds upon it. A very long, large, and high mountain in Syria, about 200 miles in length, from Damascus to the Mediterranean Sea westward, and the boundary of Canaan to the north, about 120 miles from Jerusalem. It is famous for cedar trees, which grow only there and in some woods of America. Some of these trees are 20 yards round, very tall and spreading. Solomon built his temple of them chiefly; but now they are much decayed. Mr. Thevenot reckoned no more than 23, great and small, and Mr. Maundrel only 7. On the top of it stood a temple of Venus, wherein lewd men and women debauched and prostituted themselves most infamously; for which Constantine the Great demolished it. There is now Canobine, a convent of the Maronites, about the same spot of ground. The head of it calls himself the Patriarch of Antioch.

(*g*) *Adonis*; VII. Heb. *i. e. lord*. An Assyrian idol, the same as Thammuz. The tale is, this Adonis was a fine youth, the son of Cynra king of Cyprus by his daughter Myrrha, beloved of Venus and Proserpina, killed by a wild boar upon mount Lebanon while he was hunting, and much lamented by these goddesses. These women kept a solemn feast at that time, weeping, lamenting, and beating themselves for his death; afterwards they rejoiced at his return to life. The festival of Adonia was celebrated through Greece, in honour of Venus and Adonis, for two days. See Potter's *antiq. of Greece*, vol. i. p. 328. Adonis is the sun, for six months he is in the lower hemisphere, as in hell with Proserpina; and for the other six months in the upper; at which they rejoiced mightily, as they were sorry for his declining from them. Here, the name of a river which runs down mount Lebanon, and at that time of the year his waters are red, which the heathens ascribe to a mysterious sympathy in it, for the death of Adonis; which is indeed and only caused by the rains, that make it to swell and run over the banks, and to wash away some red earth; as Mr. Maundrel testifies; and gave occasion to this fable and idolatry.

whose wanton passions Ezekiel (*h*) saw in the sacred porch, when being led by a vision, he saw the dark idolatries of the alienated children of Judah.

Next him came one, who mourned in earnest, when the captive ark dismembered his brutal image; his head and hands being lopt off in his own temple; where he fell flat by the side of the door, and shamed his worshippers; his name was Dagon, (*i*) a sea monster, like a man upward, and downward like a fish; yet he had his temple raised high in Ashdod, (*k*) and was dreaded

(*h*) *Ezekiel* or *Jechezekel*; Heb. *i. e. the strength of God*. The third of the four great prophets, carried a captive to Babylon with Jechonia, when he was young; the son of Buz, a very learned priest. Some mistake him for Pythagoras, the ancient heathen philosopher; but he was contemporary with him, and learned much from him also. He saw in a vision the corrupted women of Israel worshipping this devil, in a porch of the holy temple of God at Jerusalem, when he was a captive at Babylon. A lamentable sight indeed to him, ch. viii. 14. He wrote very mystically, that the heathens might not understand his meaning. But reproving the Jews so boldly for their idolatry, they put him to a most cruel death at Babylon, about *A.M.* 3380.

(*i*) *Dagon*, VIII. Heb. *i. e. a fish*. A god of the Syrians and Philistines, who got vast riches by fish; which they ascribed to this idol. It was half a fish and half a man. It was the Neptune and Saturn of the Greeks and Romans, whom they worshipped in this form; because they got riches from both sea and land.

(*k*) *Azotus* or *Ashdod*; Heb. *i. e. laying waste*; because it was a strong and victorious city; or of *Esh*, Heb. *i. e. a fire*, and *Dod*, *i. e. the fire of love*. A sea port town in Palestine between Joppa and Ascalon, 23 miles from Jerusalem to the west, and one of the five chief governments of the old Philistines. This city was so strong, that it held out a siege against Psammiticus king of Egypt, in the time of Manasses, king of Judah, for 29 years; and so did also the city of Messina in Sicily for 30 years against the Lacedemonians: these are the longest sieges mentioned in history. Judas Maccabeus was slain

through the coast of Palestine, in Gath, (*l*) and (*m*) Ascalon, and Ekron, (*n*) and the frontiers and bounds of Gaza. (*o*)

upon M. Azotus, by Bacchides the general of Demetrius, king of Syria, 1 Mac. ix. 18. It was a fair and rich city, but is now a poor ruinous place; the Turks call it Alzete, i. e. *the village*.

(*l*) *Gath*; Heb. i. e. *a wine-press*; because much wine was made there, Is. lxiii. 2. One of the chief cities of the Philistines upon the sea, very rich and powerful, distant from Jerusalem about 34 miles to the west, and famous for the birth-place of that giant Goliath, and others of his huge, terrible family, which were all cut off by the valiant king David, 1 Sam. xvi. It was called also Metheg-Ammah, i. e. *the bridle of bondage*; because it kept the adjacent country in subjection, 2 Sam. viii. 4.

(*m*) *Ascalon*; Heb. i. e. *an ignominious fire*; or from Ascalus a Lydian, who is said to have founded it. Another of the chief cities of the Philistines, on the same sea, 30 miles from Jerusalem to the west. It was famous for a celebrated temple of the idol Dagon there. The Scythians or Tartars in an expedition, about 640 years before the incarnation, demolished an ancient and stately temple of Venus, and some of them settled in it; therefore it is called Scythopolis, Gr. i. e. *the city of the Scythians*, Judith iii. 10. Holofernes laid it in ruins, and so did Saladine in the holy war. But Richard I. king of England repaired it, and Joppa, Cesarea, &c. *A.D.* 1192. The Turks call it Sealonias, by a corruption of the word.

(*n*) *Accaron* or *Ecron*; Heb. i. e. *barrenness*; because it was reared in an unfruitful soil. A city on the south of Gath, about 36 miles from Jerusalem to the west. It was once a place of great wealth and power, so that it held out a long time against the victorious Jews, Judg. i. But now it is a poor despicable village.

(*o*) *Gaza* now *Gazra*; Pers. i. e. *the place of treasure*; because thither Cambyzes of Persia sent those treasures, which he had prepared for the Egyptian war. But it was called so many ages before, Gen. x. 19. or rather Heb. i. e. *a strong tower*, being a very strong and rich place; and also Constantia, because Constantine the Great gave it to his sister Constantia. It stands about two miles from the sea on the river Bezor, near Egypt; therefore our author here calls it the frontier bounds of those countries; 40 miles from Jerusalem towards the south-west, and

Rimmon followed him, whose pleasant seat was fair Damascus, (*p*) on the fruitful banks of Abbana (*q*) and Pharphar, (*r*) two rivers of Damascus, whose waters

was one of the best cities the old Philistines possessed. Here they had a very magnificent temple to their god Dagon, called *Beth-Dagon*, Heb. i. e. the house or temple of Dagon, capacious to receive 5000 people at once, and stood upon two main columns, so artfully contrived that Sampson could grasp them in his two hands, and pull the whole fabric upon them and himself, Judg. xvi. 21. Beth-Dagon stood about 2000 years, until Jonathan the brother of Judas Maccabeus set the city on fire, and burnt that temple, with all those his enemies, who fled thither for sanctuary, 1 Mac. x. 34. xi. 4. And so long did a patient Deity wink at that wickedness, before he punished them. Alexander the Great took this city in two months, but it cost Alexander the third son of Hyrcanus a whole year, before he became master of it, 1 Mac. xiii. 61, 62.

(*p*) *Damascus*; Heb. i. e. *drinking blood*; because there Cain slew his brother; or the habitation of Sem, because he dwelt thereabout; as also Adam and Eve, when they were expelled Paradise, as it is reported: or from Eliezer of Damascus, Abraham's chief servant, Gen. xv. 2. whom others take to be the founder of it. The metropolis of all Syria, 160 miles from Jerusalem to the north, very beautiful, pleasant, fertile, and well watered by seven rivulets. It is the oldest city upon earth, built soon after the flood, and was in the early days of Abraham; but now it is sorely decayed, and called *Damas* by the Turks, by a contraction of the old name.

(*q*) *Abbana* or *Abana*; Heb. i. e. *stony*; because it runs down mount Libanus among many rocks and stones; is very rapid, broad, and turbid. The chief river that runs by the west and south sides of Damascus and through it, into a great lake hard by. The fish in it are unwholesome. It is mentioned, 2 Kings v. 12. and is the Orontes in Latin, now Oronz, from the name of him who built the first bridge over it.

(*r*) *Pharphar*, or *Parpar*, Heb. i. e. *fructifying*. Another of the rivers of Damascus, or rather one of the three arms of the Abbana, now the Farfar and Chrysorrhoe, Gr. i. e. *running with gold*, because gold is found in the sands of that river. Some say these are but two branches of the Barraday.

are very pure and clear; he also was very bold against the house of God; once he lost a leper, (s) and once he gained a king, Ahaz, (t) his foolish conqueror, whom he drew to despise God's altar, and displace it, for one made like those of Syria; whereon he might burn his abominable offerings, and adore the gods that he had conquered.

After these there appeared a crew, who under renowned names of old, such as Osiris, (u) Isis, (x) and

(s) *Leper*; Fr. Ital. Span. Lat. from the Gr. i. e. a leprous man, full of scabs or scales; one that is infected with the leprosy, Gr. i. e. a burning or very hot disease. Here, Naaman the Syrian. This whole history is recorded 2 Kings v. 1.

(t) *Ahaz*; Heb. i. e. taking possession. An idolatrous king of Judah, and the father of good Hezekiah. He was the XIVth king, about A.M. 3205, 762 years before Jesus Christ, and reigned 16 years. He caused Uriah the chief priest to set up an idolatrous altar, close by the altar of God, whereof he took the pattern from that at Damascus, which was strictly forbidden by the divine law. See 2 Kings xvi. 10.

(u) *Osiris*. X. An Egyptian word, i. e. a great eye; because of his vast wisdom and knowledge. A king and philosopher of Egypt, about A.M. 2500, who first taught the Egyptians husbandry, tillage, &c. for which they built him a temple at Memphis, and worshipped him under the form of an ox. Some think this was Mizraim their father and founder. He is the same as Bacchus among the Greeks and Romans; and Adam, wrapt up in a fable.

(x) *Isis*. XI. *Egypt*, from the Heb. i. e. the woman. The wife of Osiris, and queen of Egypt, which were both deified after death. They consecrated cows, and the females of all cattle to her. She was the same as Ceres and Cybele, viz. the earth or nature itself, and was worshipped every where; because they thought she had invented the use of corn, wine, &c. Some think they were the sun and the moon. She was full of dugs, to signify the benefits that men do receive from the happy influence of the moon. From these the Israelites made their golden calf, and Jeroboam his two idols. She was a memorial of Eve. Tiberius ordered her temple at Rome to be demolished, and her image to be cast into the Tyber, because her priests

Orus, (*y*) and their train; with monstrous shapes and sorceries, abused the fanatic Egyptians and their priests, inducing them to seek their gods wandering in disguise in the forms of brutes, rather than human; nor did the children of Israel escape the infection, when the gold, that they had borrowed of the Egyptians, was made into the likeness of a calf in Oreb; and Jeroboam, that rebel king doubled that sin in Dan (*z*) and in Bethel, (*a*) likening Jehovah, (*b*) his Maker, to an

were very lewd, as Josephus relates. Her temple at Paris was destroyed, when Christianity prevailed there; but her statue was preserved in the abbey of St. Germain des Pez, to the year 1514.

(*y*) *Orus*. XII. *Egypt*, from the Heb. i. e. *light*. The son of Isis, another king of Egypt, deified after his death. He represented the sun, presided over the hours, and was the god of time: therefore in the old Egyptian language he was called *Horns*, from whence came the word *hora*, i. e. an hour, in the Greek, Latin, and English. The Greeks called him Apollo, i. e. a destroyer; because he destroyed many things by the excessive heat of his rays, or dispersed darkness and clouds by his light.

(*z*) *Dan*; Heb. i. e. a *judge*. A city in the north of Canaan, at the foot of mount Libanus, and 104 miles from Jerusalem. It was first called *Leshem* or *Lais*, Heb. i. e. a *roaring lion*; because many lions abounded thereabout. When the Danites took and demolished it, they called it Dan, in memory of their father, Judg. xviii. 29. and the Canaanites, Leshem-Dan. This idolatrous king placed the other calf there, on the other extremity of his new kingdom, to keep the people more attached to himself.

(*a*) *Bethel*; Heb. i. e. *the house of God*. A city in the tribe of Benjamin, eight miles north from Jerusalem. At first it was called *Luz*, Heb. i. e. a *nut-tree*, because many of them grew thereabout. But Jacob called it Bethel, in memory of God's

(*b*) *Jehovah*. It denotes the essence of God, is the peculiar and an ineffable and most mysterious name of the Deity, and can hardly be translated into any language. Ten names are ascribed to him in the Hebrew, but this is the chief and most

ox that feeds on grass; Jehovah, who in one night, when he passed from Egypt, cut off both men and beasts (which were the bleating gods that they worshipped) with one blow.

Last came Belial, a more lewd spirit than whom did not fall from heaven, or one more gross to love vice merely for itself; to him no temple was built, nor did any altar smoke; yet who is oftener than he at temples and altars? when priests turn Atheists, as Eli's (c) sons did, who filled the house of God with lust and violence. He reigns also in palaces, and courts, and luxurious cities; where the noise of injury, outrage, and riot, ascend above their highest towers; and when night darkens the streets, then the sons of Belial wander out, flushed with insolence and wine; witness the streets of Sodom, (d) and that night in Gibeon, (e) when

glorious appearance to him there, Gen. xxviii. 19. In regard to that religious and ancient esteem of the place, Jeroboam erected one of his monuments of idolatry there. The prophet, 780 years afterwards, called it by way of contempt, Beth-aven, Heb. i. e. the house of iniquity or vanity, Hos. iv. 15. and Amos calls it *Aven*, i. e. *vanity*, ch. i. 5. It was called Bethel in the days of Abraham, Gen. xii. 8. There was an academy or school of the prophets, 2 Kings ii. 3.

expressive of his infinite nature, if it could be expressed. See Psalm lxxxiii. 18. a name that the Jews never pronounced (lest it should be profaned) we translate it Lord. Hippocrat. stiles it Euormoun, the great mover of all things.

(c) *Eli*, or *Heli*; Heb. i. e. *offering* or *lifting up*. A judge and *high-priest* of *Israel*, about A.M. 2840. He was a good man, but too indulgent to his sons, Hophni and Phineas, which was their destruction, 1 Sam. ii. 22, 23. He judged Israel forty years, and died suddenly, being ninety-eight years old, 1 Sam. iv. 15. 18.

(d) *Sodom* or *Sedom*; Heb. i. e. a *plain field*. The capital of several cities in the plains of Jordan, which God destroyed by fire and brimstone from heaven, as a just vengeance upon

(e) *Gibeah*, or *Gibeon*; Heb. i. e. a *hill*. A metropolitan city of the tribe of Benjamin, situated upon a mountain four miles

a matron was exposed to prevent a more heinous iniquity.

These were the chief in power, and in order; it would be too tedious to name the rest, though some of them were far renowned: the gods of Greece, the descendants of Javan, (*f*) esteemed as gods, though confessed to be younger than heaven and earth, which they boast to be their parents. Titan, (*g*) the first-born of heaven, with his brood of giants, whose birth-right was said to be seized by his younger brother Saturn; (*h*)

their idolatry, luxury, and such wickedness as the laws of God made to be punished with the most ignominious death, Gen. xix.

‡ Obs. That plain was called Pentapolis; Gr. i. e. five cities: because there were so many cities in it, viz. Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim and Zoar.

from Jerusalem towards the north. The citizens were sons of Belial, most abominable and wicked wretches, without the least fear of God. This was the birth-place of Saul the first king of Israel.

(*f*) *Javan*; Heb. i. e. *making sad*. He was the fourth son of Japhet, and the grandson of Noah. He and his posterity first peopled that part of Greece, which was called Ionia from him. So Alexander the Great is called the king of Javan, Dan. viii. 21. See Gen. x. 2. And the Tartars call Greece, Javan from hence.

(*g*) *Titan*; XIV. Heb. i. e. *born of the earth*: because he and all these other gods were said to be born of heaven and earth. This fable signifies the sun.

(*h*) *Saturn*; XV. Heb. i. e. *hid*, Lat. i. e. *a sower or full of years*, i. e. *old*: the most ancient of all the heathen gods, the youngest son of heaven and earth, whom the poets made the grand-father of all the gods, and father of Jupiter. In the Greek, *Kronos*, i. e. *the god of time*. Titan was his elder brother; therefore Milton here calls him, *younger Saturn*, and in another place, *old Saturn*, because he was the *god of time*; which was the oldest of them all. Saturn was a wise prince, but unfortunate; for his son Jupiter expelled him the kingdom of Crete, from whence he fled into Italy, and taught those people husbandry, plowing, sowing, and the using of the scythe. Saturn is

and he found like measure from mightier Jove, who was his son by his sister Rhea; (*i*) so the usurping Jupiter reigned.

These idols were first known in Crete, (*k*) and Ida (*l*) and thence upon the top of Olympus, (*m*) covered with

Adam, who hid himself from God, Gen. iii. 8. or Noah, who was the father of men, the inventor of husbandry, wine, architecture, navigation, &c.

(*i*) *Rhea*; XVI. Gr. *i. e. flowing*. The daughter of heaven and earth, the wife and sister of Saturn, and mother of Jupiter: she is called also Sylvia and Ilia. This fable represents Eve and the earth, which floweth with the abundance of all good things, for the use and comfort of mankind. For the old heathens worshipped and feared things according as they were good and useful, or terrible to themselves, as the sun, moon, crocodile; and some adored the devil, that he might not destroy them; which the wild Americans do still.

(*k*) *Crete*; Heb. *i. e. an archer*: because these people were excellent archers. At first it was called Curete from the Curetes, Gr. *i. e. shorn*; because they cut off all the hair of their heads; they came from Palestine. The Greeks call it Hekatompolis, *i. e. the island with 100 cities*. It is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean sea, in the mouth of the Archipelago, between Greece and Africa, 240 miles from east to west, 80 from south to north; about 600 miles in compass; and about 600 miles from Jerusalem to the west, 600 from Constantinople, and 300 from Cyprus. It is now called Candia, *i. e. an intrenchment*, from the chief town, built by the Saracens, A.D. 825. The Venetians bought it from the marquis of Montserrat, A.D. 1204. But the Turks took it from them, A.D. 1669. There Jupiter is said to be both born, brought up and buried. The old Cretians were famous for lying. See Titus 1. 12. which St. Paul quoted from Epimenides.

(*l*) *Ida*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. a prospect*: because upon it one had a fair view of the whole island of Crete, the adjacent countries and seas. A famous mountain in that island, where Jupiter was nursed in a cave. It is now called Psilorini, Gr. *i. e. the little hill*: and from it Jupiter is called Idæus by the old poets.

(*m*) *Olympus*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. all shining, clear and serene*. It is the name of several mountains; but here, of that

snow; they ruled the middle air, which was their highest heaven; or on the cliff of Delphos, (*n*) or in Dodona, (*o*) where oracles were; or were dispersed through Greece, with all those who with old Saturn fled over the Adriatic (*p*) sea into the west, and roamed over the kingdoms and islands of the earth.

between Thessaly and Macedon: so high, that no clouds or darkness appeared upon it, and was covered with snow; therefore it is called cold: the poets used it for heaven; and said that Jupiter reigned there, therefore he is called Jupiter Olympius. Anaxagoras found it but one mile and a quarter in perpendicular height, as Plutarch relates. It extends from east to west, and the top of it extended a great length all of a height; yet some part of the Alps is much higher, clouds are seen sometimes upon it, neither is it always covered with snow, as the ancients reported.

(*n*) *Delphian*, of *Delphi*, from *Adelphoi*, Gr. *i. e.* *brothers*; because Apollo and Bacchus, both sons of Jupiter, were worshipped there. Or from Delphos, the founder of it. It was very ancient, and flourished 100 years before the Trojan war; the first, most magnificent and richest of all the oracles of Apollo, and of all the other gods. An ancient city in Bæotia, at the foot of Parnassus, built upon a steep rock, without any other walls; now Delpho. There was a magnificent and famous temple and oracle of Apollo, whither all nations resorted for answers in all dubious affairs; and enriched with the most valuable gifts; therefore he was called Apollo Delphius. It had its original from a flock of goats, that resorted there, and from an enthusiastical girl. In it was kept a perpetual fire; which custom they borrowed from Moses.

(*o*) *Dodona*: Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* *sounding* day and night; or because it was built by Dodon the son of Javan, and grandson of Japhet, the captain of a colony, which first inhabited that part of Epirus, Gen. 10. 4. A famous and ancient town in Chaonia, on the west side of Epirus; famous for the vocal forest and oracle of Jupiter, where the oaks consecrated to him, gave answers; from thence he was called Dodoneus. Hesiod says, it was the most ancient of all the oracles of Greece.

(*p*) The Adriatic sea, now, the gulf of Venice or Illyria; which separates Greece and Illyricum from Italy. Saturn pass-

CHAPTER III.

Satan, though sensible of the diminution of his glory, directs his speech to the fallen angels, and comforts them with hope yet of regaining heaven. Then tells them of a new world, and a new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy, or report in heaven; and threatens the Deity: which the rebellious angels all assent to.

ALL these and many more appeared in multitudes, but with downcast eyes, and full of shame; yet not so but that there appeared such looks, wherein some glimpse of joy faintly was seen; to have found their chief captain not in despair, and to have found themselves not utterly annihilated; which was alike evident from his doubtful countenance: but Satan soon recollecting his usual pride, with lofty words, which had a resemblance of worth but not the reality, gently raised their fainting courage, and for a little time put off their fears. Then immediately he commanded, that at the warlike sound of loud trumpets, and of clarions, his mighty standard should be set up: Azazel, (*q*) a powerful cherub, claimed that proud honour as his right; who forthwith from the glittering staff spread out the imperial ensign; which lifted up high, shone like a

ed over it when he fled into Italy; where he propagated the Phœnician and Græcian idolatry, arts and sciences; for which he was entertained by Janus the king of it, and deified after his death. These institutions made men so happy, that the poets called that time, the *golden age*. Saturn is Adam; and that age, the state of innocence, before his fall.

(*q*) *Azazel*, or *Gnazazel*; Heb. *i. e.* a goat going away, or sent away. The scape goat, which bore all the sins of the people into the wilderness, and died there, Levit. xvi. 7. A type of Christ. But others take it for a devil, therefore Milton very properly makes him to be Satan's standard-bearer in chief.

comet streaming to and fro in the wind, adorned with rich workmanship and golden lustre, being seraphic trophies and arms; meantime the warlike music of Satan, was blowing with such sounds as stir up to battle; at which the whole army sent up a shout that shook hell, and pierced farther to the great space. In a moment ten thousand banners were seen to rise through the gloom into the air, waving with colours such as are seen in the sun at his rising; and with them were lifted up a vast number of spears, and helmets, and shields, joined together in order of battle, of extreme great depth. Soon after they begin to move in exact order, not unlike the Greeks to the sound of flutes and pipes, such as raised the spirits of the heroes (*r*) of old to noblest heights, and breathed deliberate, firm, and unmoved valour, instead of rage, with less dread of death, than of flight, or cowardice: nor did such music want power to mitigate and assuage, with solemn and grave sounds, troubled thoughts; and to drive away anguish, doubts, fears, pain, or sorrow, from the minds of mortals or immortals.

Thus they, united with all their force, and fixed in thought, marched on in silence, to soft pipes, that in some measure eased their painful steps over the burnt soil: and now they stand advanced in sight, a terrible front, dreadful in length, and in dazzling armour, after the manner of old warriors, with spear and shield, waiting what commands their mighty chief had to give out; he casts his experienced eye through the armed files, and cross the whole battalion, by which means he observed their due order, their countenances, and statures, shewing them like gods; at last he numbers them.

(*r*) *Heroes*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* great and illustrious men, renowned for their valour, wisdom or virtuous deeds; for which they were deified and highly celebrated after death: as Jason, Achilles, Hercules, &c.

And now his heart swells with pride, and valuing himself upon his strength, he glories; for never since did ever any created man meet such force, not in the most numerous and powerful armies, which if named with these, could only deserve to be compared to a small people in India, known to us by the name of pigmies; though all the brood of giants that are said to have made war against the gods, were joined with the race of heroes, who fought at Thebes (*s*) and Troy, (*t*) with auxiliary deities mixed on each side; and what makes a great noise in fable or romance, of king Arthur (*u*) attended by British (*x*) knights, and all those

(*s*) *Thebes*, Lat. Gr. from the Phœn. *i. e.* *dirt* or *mud*; because it was covered with water, snow and dirt in the winter time. A famous city of Bœotia in Greece, built by Cadmus, or at least the citadel of it, which was called Cadmæa, from him. There Cadmus with his heroes fought: there also Estocles and Polynices, sons of Oedipus, fought one against another; and there Hercules the giant was born who slew the Centaurs, the Nemæan lion, the monster Hydra, and the wild boar of Erymanthus, near Thebes, &c.

(*t*) *Troy*, *Ilium*, *Ilion* and *Ilios*; Lat. from the Gr. from *Ilus* the fourth king of Troy, who enlarged it, and gave it that name. It is called also *Troy*, from *Tros*, the second king; founded by Eryethonius, about A.M. 2574. The city of Troy in Phrygia, in the Lesser Asia, three miles from the Ægean sea, upon the river Xanthus, near mount Ida. What heroes fought there on both sides, while the Greeks besieged it ten years, and then razed it, 432 years before the building of Rome, is well known to all, who have read Homer, Virgil, Ovid and other poets.

(*u*) *King Arthur*, Brit. *i. e.* a *strong man*, king Arthur was crowned A.D. 516 and was a famous hero in old British history. They say he fought 12 battles with the Saxons, with vast valour and success. He combated also with many foreign knights and champions, died in the 90th year of his age, and 34th year of his reign.

(*x*) *British of Britain*, Heb. and Phœn. *i. e.* *the land of tin*: or Brit. *i. e.* *painted*, because the old Phœnicians dug tin out

who since that, either Christian or infidel, have distinguished themselves at jousts (*y*) and tournaments, in Aspramont, (*z*) or Montalban, (*a*) Damascus, (*b*) or Morocco, (*c*) or Trebisond; (*d*) or those who were sent from

of Cornwall, &c. and the old Britons painted themselves with woad, &c. to make themselves appear more terrible in war as the Piets in Scotland, and the wild Americans do to this day.

(*y*) *Jousts*, which was a very ancient diversion, when the combatants mounted on horseback, armed, adorned with feathers and lances in their hands, run at one another a full gallop, one on one side, and the other on the other side of a low rail. This sort of exercise (called jousts and tournaments in the old French) was first introduced into Germany, at Magdeburg, *A.D.* 835, by Henry called the Fowler, a Saxon prince, who was elected emperor of Germany, some time after Charles the Great, by Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, about *A.D.* 1114. by K. Henry IV. in Smithfield, before the English nobility, *A.D.* 1409. But was used among the old Saxons, as a trial of manhood and innocence; and called by them *kamp-fight*, now by us a *duel* and *combat*. Lat. Fr. i. e. a *fight between two men*.

(*z*) *Aspramont*; Lat. i. e. a *rough, rocky mountain*; a feigned name in old romances.

(*a*) *Montalban*; Lat. i. e. a *white mountain*. A mountain distant 12 miles from Rome in Italy; whereon the decisive combat was fought between the three Horatii on the side of the Romans, and the three Curiatii, on that of the Albans. Some take it also for Montaubain, in France, and others, for a feigned name in romances.

(*b*) *Damascus*; for therein it is said that Cain and Abel the first heroes fought for life and death, Gen. iv. 8.

(*c*) *Morocco*; Heb. i. e. *west*, or *Arab*. i. e. a *government*, Gr. i. e. *black*; because it is west from Canaan, and the people are black. The Romans called it *Mauritania*, i. e. the country of the Mauri, whom we call Moors and blacks. A large, pleasant and fruitful kingdom in Africa, upon the Atlantic ocean.

(*d*) *Trebisond*, or *Trabisond*; by the Greeks, *Trapeza*, i. e. a *four-footed stool*, because it resembles that. The capital city of Cappadocia, and the seat of a Turkish governor, near the Euxine sea. This country is said to have been the land of the

the shores of Afric, (*e*) when the powers of (*f*) Charlemain, fell by Fontarabia. (*g*) Thus far were these beyond the comparison of any mortal valour, yet they ob-

It is 300 miles long, and 180 miles broad; and is divided into seven provinces. Morocco is very large, and was the capital city of it; but now Fez enjoys the honour. This country contains many Roman antiquities still. Here king Juba acted the hero with Pompey, Curio, Scipio, Cæsar, &c.

Amazons, afterward the seat of the Parthian empire. Alexis Comnennus founded this empire, when the Turks took Constantinople from him. *A. D.* 1204. Muhammed the Great took it from the Greeks, *A. D.* 1461. so it has continued in their possession. The Greeks now call it Romania, through a mistake.

(*e*) *Afric*, for *African*, from *Africa*, *Arab.* i. e. *an ear of corn*, because it is very fruitful in corn in the valleys; or from *Ifriski* or *Ifriskish* an Arabian prince. The Tartars and Indians call it *Magrib* and *Al-Grib*, i. e. *the west*, on account of its situation in respect to them. Its ancient names were *Olympia*, *Oceana*, *Eschatia*, *Coryphe*, *Hesperia*, *Æria*, *Ortygia*, *Ammonia*, *Æthiopia*, *Ophiusa*, *Cephenia*, *Cyrene*, *Lybia*. *Africa* is the largest peninsula in this part of the world, encompassed with the sea, except the isthmus of *Suez*, which is 18 leagues or 64 miles long. It is one of the four grand parts of the earth, larger than *Europe*, much less than *Asia*, extending from *N.* to *S.* about 4800 miles, and from *E.* to *W.* 4800 miles. It lies almost under the torrid zone, is excessively hot, barren and sandy, very imperfectly known to the ancients, who thought it was not habitable, and even to us this day, in the inland regions. It was peopled by the posterity of *Ham*, who bear his curse to this day, for they have been always slaves to other nations, *Gen.* ix. 26. Christianity flourished there in the first ages, *Tertullian*, *St. Augustin*, *St. Cyprian*, were glorious lights therein; but alas! now they are almost all *Heathens* and *Muhammedans*. Christianity was weakened by the invasion of the *Goths* and *Saracens*, and lastly of the *Muhammedans*, *A. D.* 722.

(*f*) *Charlemain*; *Fr.* i. e. *Charles the Great*. In the *Teut.* and *Sax.* it signifies *strong*, *stout*, *valiant*. A mighty hero, a valiant and pious prince, born *A. D.* 742. He was king of *France*,

(*g*) *Fontarabia*; *Span.* from the *Lat.* i. e. *a rapid stream*. A very strong fort and city on the frontiers of *Spain* in *Biscay*, on

served their dread commander; he, in shape and gesture proudly eminent, stood like a tower; for his form had not lost all her first brightness, nor did he appear less than an archangel ruined, and a great excess of glory obscured: as when the sun newly risen looks through the misty air which hinders his beams from piercing through; or when from behind the moon in dim eclipse, he sheds a bad influence on half the nations, and perplexes monarchs with fear of change; so darkened was the archangel, yet he shone above them all, but deep scars of thunder had marked his face, and care was visible on his faded cheeks, but under brows of dauntless courage and considerate pride, that watched for revenge. His eye was cruel, but cast signs of remorse and compassion, to behold his companions, or rather those who had followed him in his crime (whom he had beheld far otherwise

and made emperor of Germany, *A.D.* 800. Crowned at Rome by Pope Leo III. with the title of Cæsar Augustus and the two-headed eagle, to make the Roman and German empire, which he possessed in great part. A victorious, learned, liberal, just and pious prince; therefore he was dignified with the title of most Christian king, which the French kings have enjoyed ever since. He died peaceably at Aix la Chapelle, Jan. 28, *A.D.* 814, of his age 72, reign 45, and was buried there. Frederick I. took his body out of the sepulchre, out of which were taken a great number of reliques and rarities, which he had collected in his life-time; but not like the riches found in king David's.

the mouth of the river Ridossa, near St. Sebastian, and well fortified on the borders of France, which hath frequently besieged it, but in vain. † Obs. This expedition and fall of Charles the Great, with his nobles at Pontarabia, related by Mr. John Turpin, is entirely false and fabulous. But poets do not regard exactness of history nor chronology, provided a fiction may help them out, and please their readers. For Æneas was 300 years after queen Dido, though Virgil makes them contemporary, as St. Austin proves in his book of the city of God, and G. Hornius in his *Area Noë* p. 358.

once in bliss) condemned now to have their lot in pain for ever; millions of spirits for his fault deprived of heaven, and for his apostacy flung from eternal splendors; yet how faithful they stood, though their glory was withered! As when lightning hath scorched the oaks, though their tops be singed and bare, their stately trunks still stand upon the blasted heath. Satan now prepares to speak, whereon they bend their doubled ranks from wing to wing, and so half enclose him about with all his peers. They all kept mute, through attention; and thrice he attempted to speak, and as many times, in spite of all his scorn, tears, such as angels may be said to weep, burst forth; but at last, mixing his words with a great many sighs, he said:

Ye numbers of immortal spirits! powers, matchless except with the Almighty! and even that strife was not inglorious, though the event was fatal, as this place testifies, and this sad change, hateful to utter; but what power of mind, foreseeing or foretelling from the depth of past or present knowledge, could have feared how such united force of so many gods, and such as stood like these, could ever be defeated? For who can yet believe, though after some loss, that all these powerful legions, whose expulsion hath almost emptied heaven, shall fail to ascend up thither again, by the power of their own strength, and again take possession of their native seat? Bear witness against me, all the host of heaven, if different counsels, or any danger shunned by me, have lost our hopes: but he who reigns now the monarch in heaven, until then sat on his throne, as one secure, upheld by old repute, by custom, or consent, and his royalty and state put forth at full; but always concealed his strength, which encouraged us in our attempt, and occasioned our fall. Henceforward we know his might and our own, so as neither to provoke him to new war; or very much to fear war, being pre-

voked. Our better part remains, we are still able by close design, by fraud, or guile, to bring to pass what we could not effect by force; so that he at length may come to learn from us, that he who overcomes by force, has overcome but half his foe. Time may produce new worlds, of which there went a common report in heaven, that before it was long he intended to create one, and therein fix a generation, whom his choice regard should favour equal with the angels in heaven: thither, if it be but to pry, shall perhaps be our first sally; thither, or elsewhere, for this infernal pit shall never hold celestial spirits in slavery, nor the abyss cover us long under darkness: but a full council, and a good deliberation among us, must bring these thoughts to perfection: peace is despaired of, for who can think of submitting? War then, either proclaimed or designed, must be resolved on.

Satan finished his speech, and in approbation of his words were drawn millions of flaming swords, from the thighs of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze made a light in hell: they raged highly against the Highest, and grasping their sounding shields fiercely in their arms, beat an alarm for war, hurling them with defiance towards heaven.

CHAPTER IV.

The associates of Satan build Pandemonium, and the infernal peers sit there in council.

Nor far off there was a mountain, from whose top rolling smoke and fire proceeded; the other parts of it firm, and the surface of it shone with a bright gloss; (an undoubted sign that in it was contained mineral

ore, ripened by sulphur) thither, with speed, repaired a multitude of the devils; just as bands of pioneers (*h*) march before a royal camp, armed with spades and pick-axes, to trench a field or cast a rampart. Mammon (*i*) led them on; he was the vilest and darkest spirit that fell from heaven, for even in heaven his looks and thoughts were always inclined downward, admiring more the riches of heaven's pavement, (*k*) which was pure gold, than any thing spiritual, or belonging to God, or to be enjoyed in beatific vision: first taught by his suggestion, Man also examined, and with wicked hands rifled the bowels of the earth, to find out gold and other riches, which had better have lain there still. The crew of Mammon had soon opened into the mountain a large passage, and digged out gold; (let nobody admire that riches grew in hell, since that soil may best

(*h*) *Pioneers* or *Pioniers*; Fr. a milit. T. labourers going before an army, to dig up trenches, to level ways, undermine castles, &c.

(*i*) *Mammon*; *Phæn. Carthag.* from the Heb. *i. e.* riches. The god of plenty and wealth among the Phœnicians, Hebrews, &c. The Pluto of the Greeks and Romans. He is beautifully painted here, and his name is repeated, to add the greater force to the sense.

(*k*) *Pavement*; Ital. Sp. Lat. *i. e.* beaten or trod on; a paved floor, a causeway, a ground-room in a house. Here, the floor of heaven, represented by St. John to be paved with pure gold, which Mammon liked best. See Revel. And the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city was pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was jasper, the second a sapphire, the third a chalcedony, the fourth an emerald. The fifth sardonyx, the sixth sardius, the seventh chrysolite, the eighth beryl, the ninth a topaz, the tenth a chrysoprasus, the eleventh a jacinth, the twelfth an amethyst. And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl; and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

suit with the root of all evil) and here let those who boast in mortal things, and talk with wonder about Babel (*l*) Babylon, and the pyramids of Egypt, (*m*) learn how their greatest pieces of architecture, built for fame with strength and art, are easily outdone by reprobate spirits; who can perform in one hour, what they in an age, with continual labour and innumerable hands, scarcely can.

X A second multitude, not far off on the plain, in many pits, that underneath them had streams of melted fire issuing from the lake, with wonderful art produced the massy ore, separating each kind, and scumming the dross. A third party, at the same time, formed within the ground various moulds, and by a strange conveyance from the boiling pits, filled every hollow place; as in an organ (*n*) from one blast of wind, the sound-board breathes to a great many rows of pikes. Presently a very large and mighty building rose out of the earth, like an exhalation, at the sound of pleasant symphonies and sweet voices: it was built like a temple,

(*l*) *Babel*; Heb. *i. e.* *confusion*; because God there confounded the language of those impious builders of that tower, Gen. xi. 1. 10. From thence comes *babble*, *i. e.* to speak nonsense, or words that are not understood by other men.

(*m*) The walls of Babylon, and the pyramids of Egypt near Memphis, which are two of the seven wonders of the world; lasting and mighty monuments of human art and power; but in nothing comparable to those of the fallen angels, as it appears from their infernal hall in hell.

(*n*) *Organ*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* *the instrument*. A music. T. a musical instrument; so called, because it is esteemed the chiefest and principal of all musical instruments: in Heb. the name of it signifies lovely and delightful. It was one of the first in the world, invented by Tubal, Gen. iv. 21. and very much used by the ancients, Job xxi. 12. Psalm cl. 4.

where pilasters (*o*) were set round, and Doric (*p*) pillars overlaid with golden architrave: (*q*) the roof was fretted (*r*) gold, nor was there any want of cornice, (*s*) or freeze, (*t*) engraved with bossy (*u*) ornaments: Babylon (*x*) nor Grand Cairo (*y*) never equalled in all

(*o*) *Pilasters*; Fr. Ital. from the Lat. *i. e.* *little pillars*. A term of archit. A kind of square pillar made to jut out of the wall of any curious fabric.

(*p*) *Doric*; Fr. Lat. Gr. *i. e.* of or belonging to the Dorians. A term of archit. It is one of the five orders of architecture, from Dorus king of the Dorians in Achaia, who built a magnificent temple to Juno at Argi, which was the first model of this order.

(*q*) *Architrave*; Fr. Gr. *i. e.* the *chief head of a pillar*. A term of archit. It is a moulding next above the chapter or head of a column or pillar.

(*r*) *Fretted*; Ital. Fr. from the Lat. a term of archit. An ornament of two lists interwoven and at an equal distance, with several breaks and indentures, *i. e.* all this workmanship was of pure solid gold.

(*s*) *Cornice* or *Cornish*; Fr. Lat. from the Gr. a *horn*. A term of archit. It is the third or highest part of the freeze, extending out like a horn or point in building.

(*t*) *Freeze* or *frieze*; Fr. *i. e.* a *ruff* or *fringe*. A term of archit. It is the round and broad band of a pillar, between the architrave and the cornice.

(*u*) *Bossy*; Fr. belonging to a boss, *i. e.* a knob or stub swelling out. Another term of architecture.

(*x*) *Babylon*; Heb. from *Babel*, *i. e.* *confusion*. A very noble ancient city in Chaldea, upon a vast plain, built near the old tower upon the Euphrates: it was founded by Nimrod before the separation and confusion of languages, Gen. x. 10. therefore that country is called the land of Nimrod, Micah v. 6. but was augmented, beautified, and fortified by Ninus, Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar, &c. and that is the reason why se-

(*y*) *Grand Cairo*, *Alcairo*, or *Alcahera*; Arab. *i. e.* *victorious* or *triumphant*; because Muazzus founded it in the ascendant of Mars, who conquers the world. Others from *Al*, *the*, and *Ker*, *city*, *i. e.* the city by way of eminence. The French call it *Grand Cairo*, *i. e.* the great city. It is the chief city of Egypt

their glory such magnificence, though to enshrine Belus (*z*) or Serapis, (*a*) which were their gods; or whether it were seats for their kings, when Egypt strove with Assyria (*b*) in wealth, superfluity, and luxury.

veral historians ascribe the foundation of it to different princes. It was the metropolis of Assyria, until Seleucia eclipsed the glory of it, and the first seat of monarchy in the world. The walls of it were 60 miles in circuit, 50 cubits high, and 87 feet thick, so that several coaches might pass upon them, and esteemed one of the seven wonders of the world. This was the oldest, largest, most magnificent, and famous city upon earth, until it was ruined by Cyrus, Darius, Seleucus, Orodes, and Alexander the Great; he took it, found immense treasures therein, stayed a whole year, and died there. It is above 40 miles south-east from Bagdat, which is upon the Tygris, and is often mistaken for the old Babylon; and about 680 miles from Jerusalem eastward. It hath been ruinous heaps, and dens of wild savage beasts, serpents, and other venomous creatures, for many ages past, so that travellers dare not approach it, as Jeremiah and other prophets foretold; because of the idolatry, cruelty, oppression, pride, and other heinous crimes of its inhabitants.

now, built out of the ruins of the old Memphis, on the east side of the Nile, but Memphis stood on the west side and a little below it, above the first division of that river. Old Cairo was upon the bank of the river, but new Cairo is about three miles from it.

(*z*) *Belus*; Heb. *i. e. lord*. The son of Nimrod, the second king of Babylon, and the first man that was deified after death. He began to reign *A.M.* 1879, and died *A.M.* 1914.

(*a*) *Serapis*; Heb. *i. e. a prince or ox*. The same as Apis, in the old Egyptian language, from *Ab*, Heb. *i. e. a father*: For Joseph said, I am a father to Pharaoh, Gen. xlv. 8. An ancient king and god of Egypt, thought to be Joseph in fable; being represented with the figure of an ox, with the sun and moon, and as a youth with a bushel and a cup. All this agrees exactly to the character and station of that worthy deliverer of their nation, and provident statesman. Herodot. lib. 3. c. 28. Diodor. Sicul. 2.

(*b*) *Assyria*; Heb. *i. e. blessed*, from Assur the son of Sem, Gen. x. 11, 12. A large and fertile country in Asia, joining to

The infernal palace which the devils had built, was of a pompous height, and presently the doors opening their brazen folds, discovered within many rows of shining lamps and blazing lights, fed with Naphtha (*c*) and Asphaltus, (*d*) which from the arched roof hung over the smooth pavement; they were hung by subtle magic, and sent forth a light as from a sky. The hasty multitude entered admiring; some praised the work, and some the architect; his art was known in heaven, by many a high tower, where dignified spirits held their residence, and sat as princes; whom God had exalted to such power, and given to rule the bright orders, each in his sacred hierarchy. (*e*) Nor was he

Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Armenia, &c. where the first grand monarchy was founded 115 years after the flood, and continued for 1300 or 1400 years. Then it fell into the hands of the Babylonians, Ninevites, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and now of the Turks successively.

(*c*) *Naphtha* or *Naptha*; Lat. Gr. from the Chald. i. e. *dropping*; a kind of fat, chalky, and bituminous clay, of a dark colour, that takes fire sooner than brimstone; it will draw fire to it from afar, and is not soon quenched. Famous springs of it are at Baku in Persia; they use it instead of lamp-oil, and in their fire works. It yields a great revenue to the emperor of Persia.

(*d*) *Asphaltus*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *unextinguishable*. A kind of fat burning clay, like pitch, found in pits, and abounding near Sodom and Babylon. It was used instead of mortar, in building the tower and walls of Babylon, Gen. xi. 3. From thence the lake of Sodom is called Asphaltites.

(*e*) *Hierarchy*; Fr. Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *a sacred government*. A theolog. term. Here, the most glorious government of the holy angels in heaven. It consists, as some say, of nine orders, which are divided into the highest, middle, and lowest, viz. 1. Seraphims, cherubims, and thrones. 2. Dominions, principalities, and powers. 3. Virtues, angels, and archangels. The holy scriptures, especially St. Paul, Coloss. i. 16. mention those degrees of holy angels: but Dionysius the Areopagite, and the schoolmen explain and rank them as distinctly as if

without a name or adoration in ancient Greece; (*f*) and in Italy men called him *Mulciber*, (*g*) and feigned how he fell from heaven, thrown down by angry Jove, quite over the bounds of heaven; that he fell from morning to noon, and from noon to evening, a whole summer's day, and as the sun set dropt directly down like a falling star (*h*) upon Lemnos. (*i*) Thus they erroneously

they had been in heaven and seen them. And doubtless there is as much variety in the angels, as there is among men, animals, plants, and flowers, whereof there are not two of a kind, in every respect alike; which is a lively demonstration of the infinite wisdom and power of the Maker.

(*f*) *Greece*, Lat. from the Gr. from *Græcus*, son of Cærops, who was one of the first kings of it. An ancient and noble country in Europe, upon the Mediterranean and Ægean seas and highly celebrated in history.

(*g*) *Mulciber*; Lat. *i. e.* A melter or softener of iron. Vulcan, Jupiter's son and founder, and god of the smiths. Vulcan is Tubal-Cain, Gen. iv. 22. His falling from heaven is nothing else, than the history of the fallen angels, drest up in a poetical fable, which they had by long tradition from Noah, Moses, &c. and from thence it spread over all the world. Vulcan was a famous master smith of Lemnos. But here, he is taken for some grand devil, whom Milton feigns to be the architect, or head workman of the infernal palace.

(*h*) *Falling-Star*; Sax. Gr. a philosoph. T. It is a fiery meteor, gendered in the air, which appears like a sky-rocket, and flyeth about; but when the sulphureous spirits of it are consumed, it falleth, and flashing like a real star; therefore the vulgar fancy it to be one, which is really impossible in nature.

(*i*) *Lemnos*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* *well-fixed* and *abiding*. A large island in the Archipelago, six hundred miles round, opposite to mount Athos, dedicated to Vulcan; because in his fall, the poets say, he pitched there, continued in it, wrought at the trade, and made Jupiter's darts. Here he had a temple, and was adored as a god. The fire that breaks out of a scorched mountain, that burns up the ground, so that no grass nor plant grows up to perfection, but withereth, and makes a hideous noise thereabout, gave birth to this fable. It is now called *Stalimine* corruptly by the Turks.

relate it, for he fell long before with these rebellious angels; nor was it of any advantage to him now, that he had built many towers in heaven, neither did he escape by all his engines and contrivances, but was sent headlong, with all his associates, to build in hell.

In the mean time some of the fallen angels, by command of Satan, and with the sound of trumpets, with majestic formality, proclaim throughout all the host, a solemn council to be held at Pandæmonium, (*k*) the high capital of Satan and his peers. Their summons called those, who either by place or choice were the worthiest from every band; they came attended with hundreds and with thousands; all the entrances were crowded, the gates and wide porches, but chiefly the spacious hall (though it was for largeness like a field, where champions are accustomed to ride in armed, and defy their enemy to push with the lance, or to mortal combat) for the hall was full, both on the ground and in the air, which was crowded with rustling wings: as bees in the spring time pour forth their numerous young in swarms about the hive, who fly to and fro among fresh dews, and among fresh flowers, by the sides of their hive, which is new rubbed with baulm, and is as the suburb of their straw-built city, where they expatiate and confer about their state and labour; so thick those miserable angels crowded about the palace, but were straitened for room, till the signal was given; when there happened a miracle; for they who but a little while since seemed to exceed the bigest giants,

(*k*) *Pandæmonium*; Milt. from the Gr. i. e. *All-devils-hall*. The infernal court or palace of all the dæmons or devils. † Obs. Milton's pregnant imagination, wit, elocution, and learning, in the composition and description of this court, hath far outdone Ovid in his description of the palace of the sun, and of all other ancient poets; so that nothing extant among them comes up to this.

(*l*) now thronged without number, less than the smallest dwarfs, (*m*) and in very little compass; small as pigmies, (*n*) who live beyond the mountains of India; or than fairy (*o*) elves, (*p*) whose midnight dancings by the side of a fountain or forest, some belated peasant sees, or at least dreams so; while the moon shining bright, wheels her course nearer to the earth; they seeming to him intent on their mirth and dancing, charm his ear with pleasant music, and his heart beats at once with joy and with fear. Thus these spirits being in-

(*l*) *Giants*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *earth-born*; because the poets feigned they were the sons of Titan and the earth, after the deluge, who made war with the gods. Men of extraordinary stature. That there were such before the flood and since, is evident, from Gen. vi. 4. Num. xiii. 33. Dent. iii. 11. from ancient history, and from modern experience; for most huge bones of men have been found in divers places, Goliath was six cubits and a span, 1 Sam. xvii. 4. i. e. somewhat above 11 feet English; besides many other instances.

(*m*) *Dwarfs*; Sax. Dut. Teut. i. e. *crooked, bunched*; persons of a most low stature, little and small people. Such are the Laplanders, and some little men and women in all places.

(*n*) *Pigmies*; Gr. from the Heb. *Gomed*, i. e. a cubit, or palm of the hand; because they did not exceed a cubit or a foot and a half at most in height. A little people said to live on the mountains of India or Africa, who had children at five years of age, died about eight, that hid themselves in caves for fear of the cranes, which swallowed them up whole, and had every thing in proportion to their stature and length of days. Some think they were a sort of apes or chimpanzees, and not human creatures; others fancy the pigmies dwelt in Lapland, because the Laplanders, are all of a low stature: the Musketoe Indians do not exceed four feet at most, and many of them are much shorter. See Cockburn's Journey, p. 240.

(*o*) *Fairy*; Sax. O. E. from the Gr. of fairies or little devils, which haunt the woods like satyrs; feigned to go about dancing in the woods, in great companies in the night time. Devils.

(*p*) *Elves*; from *Elf*, Sax. O. E. *Hobgoblins*, mischievous and fantastical spirits, haunting the woods and desolate places, of whom old women tell strange fables.

corporeal, reduced their immense shapes to forms that were exceeding small, and were at large, though still without number, amidst the hall of that infernal court; but far within, like themselves, and in their own proper shapes, sat in privacy and secret counsel the chiefs of the seraphim and cherubim, more than a thousand demi-gods, (q) upon seats of gold. The counsel was complete and full, when after a short silence, and the summons being read, the grand consultation began. (r)

(q) *Demi-gods*; Sax. Lat. *Semones*, q. *Semi-homines*, i. e. half men or inferior gods among the Romans, i. e. half gods. ‡ OBS. Among the heathens the sun was the supreme God, their first and chief worship was paid to him and other heavenly orbs, because they were so beneficial to them. But as men degenerated, they deified and adored dæmons, or their mightiest kings and heroes after death, with an inferior veneration, such as Belus, Hercules, Saturn, Ceres, &c. These they called demi-gods. Here, the chief or captains among the fallen angels, met in this infernal council.

(r) This book contains more of the Hebrew, Arabic, Phœnician, and other oriental languages; more antiquity, history, both divine and human, mythology or fables of the poets; more ancient geography, &c. than any of the following books: although the whole poem is filled with more learning of every sort, than is contained in any one volume extant; in the most sublime, elegant, well connected and short compass. The characters and speeches of the devils are wonderful and astonishing, most proper and masterly. But his description of the Pandæmonium transcends all human learning.

THE SECOND BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of heaven: some advise it, others dissuade. A third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophesy or tradition in heaven, concerning another world, and another kind of creature, equal or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created. Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search. Satan, their chief, undertakes the voyage alone; is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time until Satan return. He passes on his journey to hell gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them; by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between hell and heaven: with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.

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CHAPTER I.

The consultation begun, Satan debates concerning another battle, in order to recover heaven: proposes to search the truth of that prophesy in heaven, concerning another world and new creature. Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search. Satan their chief undertakes alone the difficult task; is honoured and applauded.

SATAN sat high exalted on a throne of royal state, which by far outshone the wealth of Ormus, (a) or of India, (b) or where the sumptuous east yields to her

(a) *Ormuz, Ormuz, or Hormus; from Armuza, a town of Carmanica in Persia near it, Pers. i. e. crafty. It was first called Orgis, then Geru. A rocky island in the mouth of the Persian gulf, 12 miles from the nearest shore of Persia, 15 miles round, producing nothing but some wood and salt, and hath not a drop of fresh water in it. It was formerly a kingdom, and had a large territory in Kirman. The Portuguese took it, A.D. 1501, built a strong city and castle upon it: then it became the glory of islands, and one of the richest upon earth, from their vast traffic with India, Persia, Arabia, &c. But through their avarice and pride, Shah Abbas, king of Persia, i. e. king and father, assisted with the English, took it from them, with the loss of seven millions of money and much blood, April 25, A.D. 1622. They razed it and transferred all the trade of it to Gómron, and four cantons were carried from thence to Ispahan; now it is a very poor place.*

(b) *India; from the great river Indus, called Seind by the natives, Tartars, and others, which divides it from Persia on the west; or from Hadoran the 5th son of Joktan, who first peopled it, Gen. x. 27. Therefore in scripture it is called Hodu, Havilah, and Chus, i. e. beautiful and worthy of praise; because it is an exceeding fine rich country: by the Arabs, Hind; by the natives, Persians, &c. Hindostan, i. e. the country of the blacks, or swarthy people; but by us, the empire of the great Mogul, and the East Indies. It is the largest (except China) and the richest empire upon earth, about 1680 miles in length, and 1690 miles in breadth. It lies between China on the east,*

kings rich pearls and gold: he was by merit raised to that bad dignity, and from despair thus high lifted up beyond hope, aspires higher still, ambitious to carry on a vain war against God, and not yet enough taught by events, in this manner expressed his proud thoughts and imaginations.

Ye powers and other inhabitants of heaven! for such you still by right are called, since no deep can hold within its gulf immortal vigour, though it may be oppressed and fallen: therefore I give not heaven for lost; celestial virtues rising from this descent, will appear more glorious and more terrible, than from no fall, and have a certainty in themselves to prevent their fearing any second. Though my just right, the fixed laws of heaven, and next your free choice did first create me your leader, with whatever hath been achieved of merit, either in council or in battle; yet this loss (so far at least recovered) hath established me much more, in a safe and unenvied throne, yielded me with full consent. The happier state, which in heaven follows

and Persia to the west, and upon the Indian ocean, and contains 37 kingdoms besides innumerable islands. † Obs. India was always esteemed the richest part of the world, in gold, silver, jewels, spices, &c. and we have a signal proof of it, in those immense treasures, which Thamas Kouli Kan took from the emperor and others, when he invaded that empire, *A.D.* 1740. Nadir Shah collected to the value of 87,500,000*l.* while he continued there: he carried away 25,000,000*l.* He took from his officers and soldiers 12,500,000*l.* from the omras or princes 3,750,000*l.* The jewels were worth about 2,000,000*l.* The imperial throne set with diamonds, &c. 2,250,000,000*l.* In contributions from the people 25,000,000*l.* Besides vast sums from petty kings and cities, with the lives of 200,000 inhabitants. See Mr. Fraser's history of Kouli Kan, who gives a more exact account of all: but that from Astracan mentioned in the public papers, Sept. 23, 1740, surmounts all credibility. East India was first discovered to the Europeans by the Portuguese, when Vasques de Gama arrived at Calicut, May 4, *A.D.* 1498.

dignity, might draw envy from those of inferior rank; but who will envy here him, who being in the highest place, is exposed to stand foremost against the thunder of God, and to be to you as a bulwark; condemned at the same time to bear the greatest share of misery without end? Where then there is no good to strive for, there can no strife arise from faction; for none sure will claim precedence in hell, nor is there any whose share of present pain is so small, that he with ambitious mind will covet more? With these advantages then, thus leagued in firm faith and accord, more than there can be in heaven, we now return, to claim our ancient and just inheritance; being more sure to prosper, than past prosperity could have assured us: but which may be the best way to obtain our end, whether open war or concealed stratagem, is the subject of our present debate; whoever can advise, let him speak.

Here Satan remained silent; and next him Moloch, who assumed a name of royalty, stood up; he was the strongest and fiercest spirit that fought in heaven, and was now grown fiercer through despair; his aim was to have been deemed equal in strength with the Almighty, and rather than be less than that, chose not to be at all; but having lost that hope he lost all fear: he made no account of God, or hell, or worse, and spoke as follows:

My sentence is altogether for open war; I boast not of stratagems, for in them I am not skilful; let those contrive them who have no better means to use, and when there may be occasion for them, not now: for while they sit inventing, shall the rest, so many millions that stand in arms and impatiently wait the signal to ascend, sit lingering here; heaven's fugitives, and accept for their dwelling-place this dark and shameful pit, which is the prison of his tyranny, who reigns only by our delay? No, let us choose rather, aim-

ed with fury and hell flames, all at once to force resistless way over the high towers of heaven, turning our tortures into horrible arms against him who tortures us; when he shall hear, to meet the noise of his almighty thunder, infernal thunder, and for lightning, see black fire and horror shot with as great rage among His angels; and see His throne itself, mixed with burning sulphur and strange fire, torments which he himself invented.—But perhaps, the way seems hard and steep, to scale upwards upon the wing, against a foe above us.—If the sleepy drench of that lake does not still stupify, let such bethink them, that we ascend in our proper motion, up to our native seats; descent and sinking is contrary to our celestial natures. Who were there of late, when our fierce foe pursued us closely through the deep, but felt with what compulsion and labour we sunk thus low? The ascent then is easy, but the event is feared: it is objected, that if we should again provoke Him, who is stronger than us, His wrath may find some worse way to our destruction; as if those who are already in hell could fear to be worse destroyed. What can be worse than to dwell here, driven out from bliss, and condemned in this abhorred prison to utter woe; where pain of unquenchable fire must torment us, without any hope or end? We are the objects of His eternal wrath, whenever His unmerciful scourge and the hour of torture calls us to punishment: if we were to be more destroyed than this, we should be quite annihilated and expire. What do we fear then? What doubts do we raise, to inflame his utmost rage? which raised to the height, will either consume us quite, and reduce these essences of ours to nothing; (which is happier far, than to be miserable and have eternal being) or if our natures be indeed immortal, and we cannot cease to be, then, at worst, we are on this side nothing; and we feel by proof, that our power is

sufficient to disturb His heaven; and with continual assaults to alarm His fatal throne, although it may be inaccessible; which, if it is not victory, it is nevertheless revenge.

He concluded frowning, and his look threatened desperate revenge and dangerous battle, to any who were less than gods. On the other side Belial rose up, more graceful and humane in his carriage; a fairer person did not lose heaven; he seemed composed for dignity, and for high exploits; but all was false and hollow; though his tongue was eloquent, and could make the worse reason appear the better, to perplex and confound the wisest counsels: for his thoughts were low, industrious to vice, but timorous and slothful to nobler deeds; yet he pleased the ear, and with moving and persuasive oratory began thus:

I should, O peers! be very much for open war (as not the least behind in hate) if what was the main reason insisted upon to persuade me to it, did not dissuade me from it, and seem to cast an ill-boding conjecture upon the success of the whole; when he, who excels most in valiant deeds, suspicious of the event, builds his courage upon despair, and considers utter dissolution as the scope of all his aim, after some fatal revenge. First, what revenge? The towers of heaven are always filled with armed watch, which takes of the possibility of all access: nay, the legions of the holy angels do often encamp upon the bordering deep, or with darkened wings scout far and wide into the regions of night, and scorn all surprize. Or could we by force break our way, and all hell should rise at our heels with blackest rebellion, to confound heaven's pure light; yet our great Enemy would remain unpolluted and incorruptable on his throne, and the heavenly substance not subject to any blot or stain, would soon expel all mischief, and victoriously purge off all our ineffectual fires. Thus

repulsed; our final hope would indeed be flat despair; we should thus exasperate the almighty Conqueror to spend all his rage upon us, and that must end us; that at last must be our cure, to be no more.——A sad cure! for who, though full of pain, would lose this wise and understanding nature of ours; these thoughts, that can wander through eternity; and rather choose to perish, to be swallowed up, and lost in everlasting darkness, without sense and motion? And supposing this to be a good, and to be chose before our present pain, who knows whether our angry Foe can give it, or ever will? How he can is quite doubtful, but that he never will is very sure. Will he, who is so very wise, at once let loose his anger; belike through want of power to curb his passions, or at unawares, to give his enemies their wish, and put an end to them in his anger, whom his anger saves only to punish for ever?——Wherefore then say they who counsel war, why do we cease? We are predestinated, reserved, and destined to eternal misery; let us do what we will, what can we suffer more, what can we suffer worse? Is this then worst, thus in arms, sitting and consulting? What! when we fled swiftly, and the afflicting thunder of heaven pursued and struck us, and we besought the deep to shelter us? This hell, scorching as it is, then seemed a refuge from those wounds. Or when we lay chained upon the burning lake? That surely was worse. What if the same breath that kindled those fires, again provoked, should blow them seven times hotter, and plunge us in the flames; or if from above the God of vengeance, who has abated for a little space, should arm again his incensed right hand to plague us; what if all heaven were opened, and this firmament of hell should spout out its cataracts (c) of

(c) *Cataracts*; Ital. Span. Fr. Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* falling down with force, rushing violently downwards. Water-falls in rivers from high rocks, as those of the Danube and Nile, which

fire? Impending horrors! threatening hideous fall upon our heads: while we, perhaps, designing or consulting glorious war, shall be caught in a fiery tempest, and each of us be transfix'd on some rock, the sport and prey of continual and racking whirlwinds; to converse there with everlasting groans, without any intermission, unpitied and unreprieved, and this for ages without end? This would be worse, therefore I declare against war, either open or concealed: for what can force or fraud do against Him? Or who can pretend to deceive His mind, who views all things at one view? He from high heaven sees and derides all these our vain motions: nor is He more almighty to resist us, than he is wise to frustrate all our plots and stratagems. But it will be said, shall we then live here thus vile, who are the race of heaven, thus trampled on, thus expelled to suffer chains and these torments? By my advice, better these than worse, since inevitable fate subdues us, and an omnipotent decree; which is the will of our conqueror. Our strength is equal to suffer, or to act, nor is the law unjust that ordains it so; thus, if we were wise, we resolv'd at first, contending against so great an enemy, and being so uncertain what might happen. I laugh, when those who are bold and adventurous at the spear, if that fail them, shrink, and are afraid of what they know must follow; that is, to undergo banishment, ignominy, or bonds, or pain; if the Victor pass such sentence upon them. This is now what we are doomed to!

makes the inhabitants deaf for three leagues, through the hideous noise of their fall. Many such are in the great river Tornea in Lapland, and in most rivers that descend from high rocky mountains. But the cataract of Niagara, in North America, is the greatest in the world, being heard above thirty miles off; for the fall of it is several hundred feet deep. Mr. Cockburn saw one in South America 600 feet high, and heard the noise of it two days before they came to it, *Journey*, p. 224. Here the sluices of hell fire let out upon the fallen angels.

which if we can support and sustain, our supreme foe may in time abate of his anger; and perhaps now we are thus far removed, not mind us, if we offend no more, but be satisfied with what is punished; and then these raging fires will slacken, if his breath does not blow up their flames: our pure essence will at length overcome their noxious vapour, or else being long enured to it, at last we shall not feel it; or changed and conformed to the place, in temper and in nature, we shall receive fierce heat familiar, and without pain: what seems horrid now will grow mild, and this darkness grow more light; besides what hope the never-ending course of future time may bring, what chance, what change worth waiting for; since our present lot, thinking all happiness is but ill, yet though ill, not worst of all, except we become our own enemies, and bring more misery upon ourselves.

Thus Belial, in words which appeared to flow from reason, counseled dishonourable ease and sloth, not true peace; and after him thus spoke Mammon.

If war be best, we war, either to disenthroned the King of heaven, or to recover our own lost right: we may hope to unthroned him, then, when everlasting fate shall yield to chance, and Chaos judge the strife between him and us; to hope the former is vain, and that argues as vain, the latter, for what place can there be for us in heaven, unless we overpower him, who is the supreme Lord there? Suppose he should relent, extend his mercy, and publish grace and pardon to us all, upon promise made of new subjection; with what eyes could we stand humble in his presence, and receive strict and severe laws imposed to celebrate his throne with hymns, and sing to his Godhead forced hallelujahs? (*d*) while

(*d*) *Hallelujahs*, from *hallelujah*, Heb. i. e. *praise ye the Lord*. Songs of praise to God; rather an invitation to do so. This word is much used in the Psalms, and other books of the Old

he our envied Sovereign sits lordly, and his altar breathes sweet odours and ambrosial flowers, which were our servile offerings: this must be our task in heaven, nay, this must be our delight. How wearisome would be an eternity so spent, in paying worship to one we hate! Let us not then pursue that which to do by force is impossible, and if by leave obtained, displeasing; for though it were in heaven it would be but a state of splendid vassalage: let us seek our own good from ourselves, and live to ourselves, though it be in this distance from bliss, yet we may be free, and accountable to none, preferring hard liberty before the easy yoke of servile pomp; our greatness will appear the most conspicuous, when we can produce great things from small, useful from hurtful, and prosperous from what is adverse; and in what place soever we are, thrive under evil, and out of pain work ease, through labour and patience. Do we dread this deep world of darkness? How often does God choose to reside amongst thick clouds and darkness (which by no means obscures his glory) and with its majesty covers his throne, from whence loud thunders proceed, raging and roaring so that heaven resembles hell? As he imitates our darkness, cannot we too when we please imitate his light? This desert soil is not without hidden lustre, precious stones, and gold; neither do we want skill from whence to raise magnificence; and what more is to be seen in heaven? In length of time also our torments may become our elements, and these piercing fires be as soft as they are now sharp and severe; our temper may be changed into their temper, which must needs remove the sensibility of pain. All things invite to peaceable counsel, and New Testament, in the Jewish, Grecian, and other liturgies. It is the incessant exercise of angels of the presence, and will be that of all the redeemed for ever and ever in heaven. See Rev. xix. 1. the Greeks write it Allelujah.

and the settled state of order, how we may best in safety compose our present evils, having regard to what we are, and where we are, at the time dismissing all thoughts of war.—Which is the sum of what I have to advise.

He had scarcely ended, when a murmur filled the assembly, such as when hollow rocks enclose the sound of winds, which all night long had blown upon the sea, and now lulled to sleep seafaring men, whose bark by chance anchors in a rocky bay, after the tempest: such an applause was heard when Mammon finished, and his sentence that advised peace pleased: for they dreaded such another fight worse than hell; the fear of thunder, and the sword of Michael, (e) had still such power over them, and they had no less desire to establish the government of hell, which might rise by policy, prudence, and a long continued course of time, to have an emulation, and be set in opposition to heaven; which when Beelzebub perceived (than whom none sat higher except Satan) he rose with a composed aspect, and in his rising seemed a pillar of state: deliberation was marked deep upon his forehead, and princely counsel, and care for the public yet shone in his face, shewing him majestic, though in ruin; he stood like Atlas, (f) fit to bear the weight of mightiest monar-

(e) *Michael*, Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *i. e. who is like God*. One of the archangels frequently mentioned in holy scripture, for his good services to the church; the guardian angel of the Jewish, Dan. x. 13. and Christian church, Jud. 9. Rev. xii. 7. He is supposed here to be chief captain of the celestial army, against the fallen angels. † Obs. The names of the good angels are derived from the Hebrew names of God; because they are his attendants, they wear his name and livery, *i. e. holiness*.

(f) *Atlas*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. a supporter*. A mountain of Mauritania in Africa, so high that the top of it reached the clouds, and the poets said, that it supported the heavens. It took the name from Atlas, a king of that nation, who was a great astronomer, contemporary with Moses, and frequently resorted thither to view the stars. This gave occasion to the fable.

chies, his looks drew audience and commanded attention, as still as night, or as the summer's air at noon, while he expressed himself thus:

Thrones! (g) imperial powers! ethereal virtues! (h) the offspring of heaven! or must we renounce these titles now, and changing our style, be called princes of hell? For so the popular voice seems to incline; to continue here, and here to build up a growing empire, about which we only dream, not knowing that the king of heaven hath ordained this place to be our dungeon, and not a secure retreat, out of the reach of his powerful arm, to live exempt from heaven's high authority, and make new leagues against his throne: but here we are to remain in strictest bondage, though thus far removed from him; under his invincible power, reserved his captivated multitude: for be assured, that he in height or depth will always reign sole King, and lose no part of his kingdom by our revolt; but extend his empire over hell, and rule us here with an iron sceptre, as with his golden one he does those in heaven. What do we then sit here for, projecting war and peace? War hath already determined us, and we are overcome with irrecoverable loss; peace has not been offered us, nor have we sought it: for what peace will be given to us, who are already enslaved; what but severe imprisonment, and stripes, and arbitrary punishment inflicted on us? And what peace can we return, but enmity and hate to the utmost of our power, an untamed opposition and revenge; ever plotting (though

(g) *Thrones*; Fr. Ital. Span. Teut. Lat. Gr. *i. e. to sit*. The third order of holy angels, such as have royal seats and dignities above others; they are also called chief princes, Dan. x. 13.

(h) *Virtues*; Fr. Lat. The seventh order of the holy angels, such as have an excellent valour and might, to execute the decrees and orders of God upon earth; and in the other worlds. Here, such chiefs among the devils, who had that royal dignity conferred upon them at their creation, but lost it by sin.

we may move but slowly) how the conqueror may reap the least benefit of his conquest, and least rejoice in doing what we most feel in suffering; nor will there want opportunities, nor shall we need with hazardous attempt to invade heaven, whose high walls are out of danger of all siege, or assault, or ambuscade (*i*) from hell: what if we should find out some enterprise that is easier? There is a place, another world (if ancient prophecy and report in heaven be true) the happy habitation of some new race, called Man; (*k*) a being much like us, though less in power and excellence, to be created about this time, and to be more favoured than the angels by him who rules above; so he pronounced his will among the powers of heaven, and confirmed it by an oath, that shook its circumference. Let us bend all our thoughts thither, to learn what creatures inhabit there, of what make and substance, what qualities they are endowed with, what their power is, and where their weakness; and whether their ruin may be best attempted by force or subtilty. Though

(*i*) *Ambuscade*; Fr. Ital. Sp. from the Gr. i. e. *lying about the bush or wood*. A military term. A body of men hid in a wood, ready to rush out upon an enemy unawares. This stratagem in war was first directed by God himself. See Josh. viii. 2.

(*k*) *Man*; Teut. Dut. Sax. *Man*, or *Manno*, the son of Tuis-ton, who was the founder, ancient king, and god of the old Germans and Gauls; the same as Noah: for they came from Gomer, the eldest son of Japhet, Gen. x. 2. Man denotes that creature, which in the Hebrew is called Adam, from his formation out of the earth; in the Greek, Anthropolos, from his erect countenance: and in the Latin, Vir, from his great strength, and other perfections of the body and mind; being endowed with understanding, will, reason, memory, and other spiritual faculties: the lord of the creation, the king of animals, and supreme in the animal world, next in perfection to the holy angels, so far as we know. Plato calls man the miracle of God, being the most perfect of the whole inferior creation, an epitome of the world, and the image of God, Gen. i. 26,

heaven is shut, and the great Arbitrator of it sits secure in his own strength, this place, perhaps, being the utmost border of his kingdom, may lie exposed, and be left to their defence who hold it: here, possibly, some advantageous act may be performed, either by sudden onset with hell fire to waste his whole creation, or else possess it all as our own, and drive out the puny (*l*) inhabitants, as we are driven; or if not drive them out, seduce them to our party, that their God may prove their enemy, and with a repenting hand destroy his own works: this would be an action surpassing common revenge, and interrupt the joy he has in our confusion, as well as raise up our joy in his disturbance; when his favourite creatures hurled headlong to partake with us our damnation, shall curse their frail original, and faded bliss; faded so soon. Think well, if this be worth attempting, or whether it be better to sit here in darkness, contriving vain empires.

Thus Beelzebub spoke his devilish counsel, which was first devised, and had been in part proposed by Satan; for from whence, but from the author of all evil, could spring so deadly a malice; to confound the race of mankind in the first root, and mingle and involve earth with hell; done all to spite the Great Creator? But their spite still serves to advance his honour and glory.

The bold design highly pleased those infernal states, and joy shone visible in all their eyes: they voted with free assent to what he had proposed; whereupon he renewed his speech.

Synod of gods! well have ye judged, and like to what ye are, have resolved great things, and ended long debate: this from the lowest deep (in spite of fate)

(*l*) *Puny*; Fr. Lat. *i. e.* *born after others*; little, mean, infirm, younger. Here man is so called by Beelzebub, in contempt and derision, because man was created after the angels.

will lift us up once more, nearer our ancient seat, perhaps in view of the bright confines of heaven, from whence by some advantageous excursion we may chance to re-enter heaven; or else in some mild zone, (*m*) or place of less torment dwell secure, not unvisited by its fair light, and at the brightening beams of the east purge off this gloom: the soft delightful air shall breathe balm, to heal the scorplings of these corrosive fires.— But first let us consider whom we shall send in search of this new world, whom shall we find sufficient to attempt, with wandering feet, the dark, infinite, and bottomless abyss? That can find out his uncouth way, through gross and palpable darkness, or take his flight, borne upward with indefatigable wings over the pathless space, before he arrives at the happy world where Man is placed? What strength or art can be enough, or what evasion can ever bear him safe, through the strict senteries and thick stations of angels, that doubtless are watching round it? Here he had need of the greatest circumspection, and we need no less now in the choice of whom we are to send; for on him our last hope and the weight of all relies.

Having said thus, he sat down, and looked expecting who would second him, or undertake this dangerous enterprise: but they all sat mute, with deep thoughts considering the danger; and each of them, in the countenance of others, might have seen how himself looked dismayed; all were astonished; none among the choice and chiefest of those champions, who had warred in heaven could be found so hardy, as to proffer, or consent alone to undertake, the dreadful journey; until at

(*m*) *Zone*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a *belt* or *girdle*: because it girds the world. An astronomical term. Astronomers divide the heavens into five zones; one is extreme hot, between the two tropics; two are temperate, between the two tropics and the polar circles; and two are extreme cold, between the two polar circles and the two poles.

last Satan, whom now transcendant glory raised above his companions, with regal pride, as conscious of highest worth, spoke thus:

Oh! progeny of heaven! where perhaps ye still have thrones, with reason deep silence and demur have seized us, though we are undismayed: the way that leads up to light, out of hell, is long and hard; our prison is strong; this huge convex of fire, the immense vault of hell, outrageous to devour, surrounds us on all sides, and gates of burning adamant barred over us, hinder all passage out. After these are past (if that be by any one possible) the void and bottomless depth of hell and night gaping wide, receives him next who makes the attempt, and plunged in that abortive gulf, he is threatened with utter loss of being. If he escape thence, in whatever world or unknown region it may be, what less remains for him than unknown dangers, and perils difficult to go through? But I should very ill become this throne, and this imperial sovereignty, adorned as I am with splendor and armed with power, if any thing could be proposed, judged to be of public moment, that in the shape of difficulty or danger, I could be deterred from attempting. Wherefore do I assume these royalties? Why do I not refuse to reign, if I refuse to accept as great a share of hazard as I do of honour? Since to him who reigns they are alike due, and so much the more of hazard due to him, as he sits high honoured above the rest? Therefore, ye mighty powers, the terror of heaven (though fallen) go and consult at home (while here shall be our home what may best give ease to present misery, and render hell more tolerable; if there be cure or charm to respite, deceive, or mitigate the pain of this ill mansion. Neglect no watch against so wakeful a foe, while I far off, through all the untrod paths of dark destruction, seek a deliverance for us all: none shall partake this enterprise with me.

Thus saying, Satan arose, and prudently prevented all reply; lest others among the chiefs, their spirits raised from his resolution, and certain to be refused, might offer now what they before feared; and so might stand in opinion his rivals, cheaply winning the high reputation, which he had to acquire through extreme great hazard. But they did not dread the adventure more than his forbidding voice; with him they rose all at once, and their rising was as the sound of distant thunder: they bend towards him, and bow with awful reverence, extolling him as a god, and equal to the Highest in heaven: nor did they fail to express their praise, that he despised his own, for the general safety: (for neither do the damned spirits lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast their specious deeds upon earth, to which they are excited only by glory, or close ambition varnished over with zeal.) Thus they ended their doubtful and dark consultations, greatly rejoicing in their general, whom they esteemed matchless: as when after a storm, if the sun extends his warm beams, the fields revive, the birds renew their songs, and the herds bleat, and with their joy make the hills and the valleys ring. What shame to Men! devil with devil damned holds firm concord; of rational creatures, Men only disagree; though they are under hope of heavenly grace, and though God proclaims peace, yet live in hatred, strife, and envy, among themselves, levying cruel wars; and wasting the earth, to destroy each other: as if (which consideration itself might induce us to unity) Man had not hellish foes enough besides, that day and night wait for his destruction.

CHAPTER II.

The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, till Satan returns.

THUS the infernal council broke up, and the great peers of it came forth in order; in the midst came Satan their sovereign, and seemed of himself alone strong enough to be an opposition to heaven; nothing less than hell's dread emperor, with supreme pomp and state, imitating God: around him a company of fiery seraphim, who enclosed him with shining and dreadful ensigus and arms. Then they ordered the great result of their councils to be proclaimed with the sound of trumpets: four swift cherubim sounding towards the four winds, the meaning of which was explained by the voice of a herald, which sounded far and wide, and all the host of hell shouted out aloud for joy.

From thence their minds grew more at ease, and being somewhat encouraged by false and ill-grounded hope, the ranged bands disperse, and each wanders his several way, as inclination or sad choice perplexedly leads him, where he may likeliest find some ease to his restless thoughts, and pass the painful hours till his great chief should return.

Part of them on the plain, part hovering in the air, others contending in swift race, as in the Olympian (*n*)

(*n*) *Olympian*, of *Olympus*. The Olympic games of Greece were instituted by Hercules, and celebrated near the city Olympia in Peloponnesus, in honour of Jupiter Olympus's father, on the second month after the 4th year, every fifth year, or every fiftieth year monthly for five days together; because the Dactyli were five brothers, who settled in Elis, and instituted the solemnity. In these the valiant youths exercised themselves,

or Pythian (*o*) games; others curb fiery steeds, or draw up chariots and troops in form of battle: as when, to give warning to proud cities, there appears war in the troubled sky, and armies rush to battle in the clouds, before the van the airy knights spur on and level their spears, till thick legions close; and the firmament seems to be on fire with warlike apparitions.

~~X~~ Others of the fallen spirits, with rage like that of Typhon, and more fierce, tear up the rocks and hills, and ride the air in whirlwinds, so that hell scarce holds the wild uproar: as when Hercules, (*p*) crowned with con-

at running, whirlbating, quoiting, jumping, and wrestling; for high rewards; but women were not suffered to be at them. They were very famous, and more manly (abating the immodesty of the players, who were all naked) than the cruel diversions of the Romans, who pleased themselves with tearing men and beasts into pieces, upon their theatres; and became their epocha or date of time. The Olympiads were the first certain periods of chronology among the Greeks. The first Olympiad began in the 35th year of Uzziah, king of Judah, on the 11th of our June, A.M. 3174 or 3228. After the deluge, 1518 years, 400 after the destruction of Troy; 30 years before the building of Rome; 730 before the incarnation; and continued in use to the reign of Constantine; soon after the Christian Æra took place.

(*o*) *Pythian of Python*; Heb. *Pethen*, i. e. an *asp* or *cockatrice*, Gr. *i. e. corruption*. These games were instituted in honour of Apollo, who shot a huge serpent called Python: (others say it was some cruel tyrant whom he slew) because it was generated of the impure mud of the earth after the deluge, by the river Cephissus, near Parnassus: therefore he was called Pythius, these games Pythici, the city of Delphi (where his oracle was kept) Pythia; the priestesses, Pythiæ or Pytho-nissæ. They were celebrated every ninth year at first, but afterward on every fifth year, according to the number of the five nymphs, that were to congratulate Apollo on his victory over the Python; and the conquerors were rewarded with fruits consecrated to him. Apollo is the sun, who by his scorching rays destroyed this dreadful monster.

(*p*) *Hercules*, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, and grandson of Alcæus. After many mighty deeds, called his twelve labours,

quest from Thessaly, (*q*) after he had put on the poisoned robe, through pain tore up pines by the roots, and threw Lichas (*r*) from Oeta (*s*) into the Black sea.

Others more mild retreated into a silent valley, and sung to harps in angelical notes their own heroic deeds and unhappy fall, by chance of war, and complain that fate should enslave free virtue: their song was partial, but the melody suspended the pains of hell, and gave a great delight to the thronging audience; what less could be, seeing that they were immortal spirits that sung?

✱ In discourse still more sweet (for eloquence charms the soul, and song only the sense) others set apart retired upon a hill, in thoughts more elevated, and they reasoned high of Providence, of Fore-knowledge, Will,

he ran mad, by putting on a poisoned vest, stained with the blood of Nessus the Centaur, whom he had killed with a poisoned arrow, for a foul affront offered to his wife: Nessus in revenge perswaded her to put it upon Hercules, as an antidote to the love of other women: when he put it on he ran mad, burnt himself to death, and was afterwards deified.

(*q*) *Thessaly*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. situated upon the sea*; or from Thessalus, one of the ancient kings; and Pelasgia, when the Pelasgi settled there. A country of Greece, having Achaia on the south, Epirus on the west, and a part of Macedonia; very woody and fruitful. The people were given to horsemanship and the knowledge of poisonous herbs, which abounded in it.

(*r*) *Lichas*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. a man of Lychia*; *i. e. a stature*; because it was the country of the giants, men of a large stature. He was the servant of Hercules, by whom Dejanira sent him that poisoned garment, which made him so outrageous, that he threw Lichas headlong into the sea, where he perished.

(*s*) *Oeta*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. destruction*; From Oetus, a giant who dwelt on it, and destroyed all before him; a very high mountain, dividing Thessaly from Macedonia, whereupon Hercules burnt himself to death: hence the poets call him Oetæus, and from which he threw Lichas into the sea, though many miles distant from it; now Bannia. Near it are the famous straits, called Thermopylæ, 25 feet broad.

and Fate; fixed Fate, Free Will, and absolute Foreknowledge; and in these perplexing contemplations were lost in wandering mazes, and found no end: then they argued much about good and evil, of happiness, and of eternal misery, of the passions, of apathy, and glory, and shame; all which was vain wisdom, and false philosophy; yet with pleasing sorcery it could charm pain and sorrow of mind for a time, and raise deceitful hope, or arm the hardened heart with stubborn patience, as it were with steel.

Another part bend their flying march four ways in squadrons and great bands, upon a bold adventure, to make fresh discoveries in that dismal world, if peradventure any part of it might yield them a happier habitation: their way was along the banks of the four rivers of hell, that discharge their deadly streams into the burning lake; abhorred Styx, (*t*) the river of hatred; sad Acheron; (*u*) Cocytus, (*x*) the river of lamentation; and fierce Phlegeton, (*y*) whose waves boil with raging fire. Not far from these runs a slow and silent stream

(*t*) Styx; I. Lat. Gr. *i. e. hatred and horror*. The poets feigned four rivers in hell, to whom they gave names from such horrible poisonous and deadly springs as were known to them, to set forth the dreadfulfulness of future torments. They say, this river ran nine times round hell.

(*u*) Acheron, or Acherus; II. Lat. Gr. *i. e. sad, sorrowful, and comfortless*, Heb. *i. e. outmost*. A poisonous spring in Peloponnesus. This fable implies death, the king of terrors.

(*x*) Cocytus; III. Lat. Gr. *i. e. lamentation, weeping*; for it is said to have swelled with the tears of the tormented. Homer places it in Cimmeria (which is Scythia, now Tartary) and makes hell to be there; because of the blackness, and darkness of that country.

(*y*) Phlegeton, or Phlegethon; IV. Lat. Gr. *i. e. burning*; for the waters of it are said to boil for ever. This is the last of the rivers of hell, as the poets represented it.

in a watery labyrinth, (*z*) called *Lethe*, (*a*) the river of oblivion, whereof whoever drinks, forgets all his former state and being, both joy and grief, pleasure and pain. Beyond this flood lies a frozen continent, dark and wild, beat with continual storms of whirlwind and hail, which not thawing on the firm land, gathers to a heap, and seems like the ruins of some old building, all besides being deep snow and ice; a gulph as deep as that *Serbonian* (*b*) bog, betwixt *Damiata* (*c*) and

(*z*) *Labyrinth*; Teut. Dut. Fr. Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *not having a door, or receiving and devouring*. A building full of turnings and windings, so that it was very difficult for one to get out of it. A maze. Pliny reckons four of them. The first and greatest was built in Egypt by Menis, an ancient king, to be a funeral monument for himself, consisting of 12 palaces, 1500 rooms, and 12 halls. The second in Crete, made by Dædalus, by the order of Minos, from a model of that, and for the same end, or rather for a prison. The third in Lemnos, having 150 pillars of marble: it is under the whole concavity of mount Ida, and still to be seen. The fourth in Italy, by the order of Porsenna, king of Tuscany.

(*a*) *Lethe*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *forgetfulness*. A river of Africa, which after a long course hides itself under ground, and appears again; wherefore antiquity feigned that all the dead drank a draught of its waters before they entered hell, which made them forget all their past sorrows. The fable is death, when all the pleasures and pains are quite forgotten.

(*b*) *Serbonian*; of *Serbon*, or *Sirbon*: Strabo calls it *Serbonis*; Ptolomy and Pliny, *Sirbonis*. Arab. i. e. *the lake*; though Strabo ignorantly takes this for the lake of Sodom. A bog or lake upon the utmost borders of Palestine and Egypt, fifty miles from Arabia; now Lagos di Teveso, by the Italians, Bayrena by the natives, and Barathrum, by the Latins, i. e. a deep gulph. It was fifty-two miles in length, one thousand furlongs in compass, narrow and very deep, surrounded with hills of loose sands, which thickened and discoloured the waters; that pas-

(*c*) *Damiata*, or *Damietta*; Heb. i. e. *dirt or mud*. A town in Egypt upon the mouth of the Mediterranean sea, and the most easterly bank of the Nile, near old Pelusium, which sig-

mount Casius, (*d*) where whole armies have sunk: the parching air burns in frost, and cold performs the effect of fire: thither at certain revolutions all the damned are dragged by their tormentors, and by turns feel the bitter change of fierce extremes, which by change are made more fierce; their soft ethereal warmth forced from beds of raging fire, to starve in ice, there to pine immoveable, fixed in and frozen round for periods of time, and from thence be hurried back to fire. They pass over this river Lethe, both to and fro, to heighten their sorrow, and wish and struggle as they pass to reach the much desired stream; with one drop of its water, to lose in sweet forgetfulness all sorrow and pain in one moment, being so near the brink: but fate opposes, and spirits of horror, like Medusa, (*e*) with

sengers did not discern them from the dry sands, and so were swallowed up therein and lost. Indeed that large tract of land abounds with quicksands, mountains and heaps of sands, wherein many travellers have been buried alive, as Cambyses lost 50,000 men in the sands of Lybia. This lake has been filled up long ago, and is not to be found now.

nifies also dirt; because both are situated in a dirty, clay soil. These cities were the key and bulwark of Egypt. Damietta was founded by Isis, and destroyed by the Saracens, in the holy war; but is now a place of great trade.

(*d*) *Casius*, or *Cassius*; Syr. i. e. a *boundary*; because it parts Egypt and Palestine: A sandy mountain on the farther side of Pelusium, near the Serbonian bog, between the Red sea and the Mediterranean sea, extending southward to Arabia Petræa: at the foot of it stood once a town called Casium, famous for the temple of Jupiter Casius, wherein stood a statue of him in full proportion, stretching out his right hand with a pomegranate, the emblem of his being the terminal god defending the borders of that nation.

(*e*) *Medusa*; Lat Gr. i. e. an *imperious queen*, the daughter of Ceto Phoreas, a king of Corsica and Sardinia; very beautiful, having golden hair; of which she was exceeding proud, and contended with Minerva, for which the goddess turned it into

Gorgonian (*f*) terror guard the ford, and the water of itself flies from the taste of all living creatures, as once it fell from the lip of Tantalus. (*g*) Thus the fallen spirits roving on in confused march, forlorn and pale, with shuddering horror, and with ghastly eyes first viewed their lamentable lot, and found no rest: they passed along through many a dark and dreary vale, and many a dismal region, over many a frozen and many a fiery Alp; (*h*) rocks, caves, lanes, fenns, bogs, dens, and shades of death; a universe of death! which God created evil by a curse; good only for evil, where all life dies, where death lives, and nature breeds perversely all monstrous and prodigious things, abomina-

snakes; which were so terrible, that they turned all that beheld them into stones. Perseus cut off her head, that it might not destroy the whole country; and as he carried it through Africa, the drops of blood became serpents: hence they say, it is infested with swarms of serpents and other venomous creatures, above other parts of the world.

(*f*) *Gorgonian*, of the *Gorgons*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. cruelty*. The Gorgans were so called from Gorgon, a venomous beast in Africa; they were the three daughters of Phæcus, *viz.* Medusa, Steno, and Euryale: so called from their savageness; because they killed at the very sight.

(*g*) *Tantalus*; Gr. Lat. *i. e. most miserable*. The son of Jupiter and Plota. He killed and dressed up his son Pelops to the gods, at a feast: for which they condemned him to hell; where he was set in water to the chin, with apples bobbing at his lips; yet could taste of neither.

(*h*) *Alp* for *Alps*; by a fig. of rhet. Lat. *i. e. white*: because they are always white with snow, or high; a long range of lofty and steep mountains, which parts Italy and Germany and France: it cost Hannibal the Carthaginian general, nine days before he got to the top of them; and 15 in marching over them; wherein he lost vast numbers both of men and beasts, though he mollified the rocks with vinegar, and cut them down with iron tools: but Polybius and Livy say, that the Italians, Gauls, and others passed and repassed them, long before this famous expedition of Hannibal.

ble and beyond all expression; and worse than ever fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived, of dire Chimeras, (*i*) Hydras, (*k*) and Gorgons.

CHAPTER III.

Satan passes on his journey to hell gates; finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them, by whom at length they are opened, and discover to him the great gulf between hell and heaven.

IN the mean while Satan, the adversary of God and Man, with thoughts inflamed with highest designs put on swift wings, and takes his solitary flight towards the gates of hell: sometimes he scours the right-hand course, sometimes the left; now flies over the deep with steady wings, then soars up, mounting as high as the fiery concave: as when a fleet discovered at sea, hangs as in the clouds by Equinoctial (*m*) winds, sailing close

(*i*) *Chimeras*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* goats. A Chimera was a fabulous monster, said to have had the head of a lion, the belly of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. It was only a mountain of Lycia, a branch of the M. Taurus in Asia; whose top did cast out flames, and abounded with lions, in the middle there was a good pasture for goats; and at the bottom of it were many serpents.

(*k*) *Hydras*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* waters. Hydra is a monstrous and excessive water serpent; feigned with 50 heads. It is said that Hercules tamed this monster in the lake Lerna, between Argi and Mycene.

(*m*) *Æquinoctial*, of the *Æquinox*; Lat. *i. e.* equal night and days. An astron. term here, the trade winds, that blow in September and March; when the days and nights are of equal length.

from Bengal, (*n*) or the islands of Ternate, (*o*) or Tidore, (*p*) from whence merchants bring their spices, they on the trading flood ply to the Cape, (*q*) through

(*n*) *Bengal, Indian.* The ancient name was Beng, *i. e. water*; for as the waters overflow some parts of the country, the people made their fields into beds of 15 yards square, and two yards high; which they called Ala; hence, came Bengala, *i. e. an overflowed country.* A large kingdom in the East Indies, belonging to the Great Mogul, extending upon the gulf of Bengal, about 160 leagues in length, and more in breadth. One of the most fruitful and pleasant countries of the world, for all sorts of commodities; therefore it is called the storehouse of Asia; well watered, and abounds in canals; through it the great river Ganges runs, and discharges itself into the bay of Bengal. The rivers abound with crocodiles, &c. the inlands with elephants, &c. The Europeans have a vast trade there. This gulf is 800 leagues over, through it the Europeans sail to and from India.

(*o*) *Ternate; Ind.* The chief of the five Malocco or Molucco islands in the East Indian sea, by which the Europeans sail to and from the East Indies, viz. Ternate, Tidore, Machian, Moties and Bachian. They lie near the line, and abound with spices. The Arabs first began to trade there, then the Muhammedans; now they belong to the Hollanders, since they expelled the Portuguese and Spaniards, A.D. 1641. The natives are mostly heathen idolaters.

(*p*) *Tidore, or Tidor; Ind.* Another of the Malacca islands, near to Ternate, separated only from it by a narrow channel.

(*q*) *Cape; Fr.* from the Lat. *i. e. a head*, a geogr. term, a high mountain or head land running into the sea; here the Cape of Good Hope, upon the point of Africa tot he south, whether the old Phœnicians and others passed it or no, is uncertain; but it was first discovered to the moderns by Bartholomew Dias, a Portuguese, A.D. 1454. Vasq. de Gama arrived at Calicut, May 20, A.D. 1469. It is called by them Cabo de Bona Speranza: because they had good hope of a passage to the East Indies by doubling that cape, as afterwards did appear. The Dutch purchased it of their kings, founded a strong fort there; A.D. 1651. and held it ever since. Some call it the Cape of Tempests; because they are very common thereabouts.

the Ethiopian (*r*) sea; just so far off seemed the flying fiend. At last the bounds of hell appear, reaching high up to the roof, and the gates were three times three-fold; three folds were of brass, three of iron, and three of adamantine rock; impenetrable, surrounded with circling fire, and yet not consumed.

Before the gates there sat on each side a dreadful shape, one of which seemed a woman to the waist, and fair, but she ended in scaly folds like a serpent, voluminous and vast, armed with a mortal sting; round about her middle a cry of hell-hounds barked without ceasing, and rung a hideous peal, with loud and wide Cerberian (*s*) mouths; yet when they would, if any thing disturbed their noise, crept into her womb, and kennelled there, and when not seen, still barked and howled within: less abhorred than these were those that vexed Scylla, (*t*) bathing in the sea that parts

(*r*) *Ethiopian*, of *Ethiopia*, Lat. Gr. *i. e.* burnt in the face. Heb. *Chus. i. e.* black, from Chus, the son of Sham, who first peopled it. Ethiopia is a large hot kingdom of Africa, in the Torrid zone, therefore the people are sun-burnt, tawny and black; about 3600 miles in length, and 2180 in breadth. It is about one half of all Africa. Here, the southern ocean, which washeth it, and through which the European merchants pass, as they go to and come from the East Indies, China and Japan, &c.

(*s*) *Cerberian*; belonging to *Cerberus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a devourer of flesh, *i. e.* as wide as those of Cerberus the dog that kept the gates of hell, who had three, some say fifty, and Horace says 100 heads; signifying his greedy and devouring nature. The fable represents time, which devours all things; the three heads, time past, present, and to come.

(*t*) *Scylla*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* vexation and disturbance. Scylla was a frightful rock in the sea between Italy and Sicily, so called from Scyllio, a castle on the Italian shore, upon which the waves made a noise, like the barking of dogs, which terrified sailors: or Scylla the daughter of Phorcus, who was poisoned by Circe, and changed from the waist down into strange and frightful monsters; wherefore she threw herself into the sea.

Calabria (*u*) from Sicily, (*x*) nor do uglier follow the night-hag, who, when called in secret, comes riding through the air, drawn by the smell of infants' blood, to dance with Lapland (*y*) witches, while the labouring moon is eclipsed by their charms.

The other shape (if it might be called so, that had none distinguishable, in joint, limb, or member, or that might be called substance, that seemed shadow, for each seemed either) stood as black as night, as fierce as ten furies, (*z*) as terrible as hell, and shook a dread-

(*u*) *Calabria*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. good and fruitful*. A very fine fruitful country on the utmost part of Italy, facing Sicily, and divided from it by a narrow strait: it is almost an island, yields fruit twice in the year, and is about 60 miles wide, called now *Terre de Laber*; *i. e. the land of Calabria*, by an abbreviation of the old name.

(*x*) *Sicily*. It was so called from the Sicani and Siculi, who were the ancient inhabitants. Sicily is the largest and noblest isle in the Mediterranean sea, facing Italy; and, as Thucydides says 20 furlongs from it; therefore it has been a bone of contention between the Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, and other adjacent nations, in all ages to this time.

(*y*) *Lapland*; from the ancient *Lupiones*, or *Loppi*; *i. e. silly, sottish, and rude*. The natives call it *Lapmark*; the Germans, *Laplandi*; the Muscovites, *Lappi*; for they are an illiterate people, void of all arts and sciences, gross heathens. A cold northern country in Europe, belonging partly to Sweden, partly to Norway, and partly to Muscovy; very barren and barbarous: for their dreadful ignorance, superstition and malice, the people are branded with witchcraft and other diabolical practices.

(*z*) *Furies*; Fr. Ital. Sp. Lat. *i. e. madness and rage*; or Heb. *farar*; *i. e. revenge*. The three furies of hell were imagined to be the tormentors of the damned, and painted with snakes about their heads, with eyes sparkling with fire, with burning torches in their hands; tormenting the souls of the wicked in hell: and their names implied dread and terror. *Alecto*; Gr. *i. e. incessant, without rest, never ceasing to torment*. *Megæra*, Gr. *i. e. envied, hated*: *Tesiphone*, Gr. *i. e. a revenger of murder*, and *Ehynides*; *i. e. discord and revenge*.

ful dart; what seemed his head, had the likeness of a kingly crown on it. Satan was now near at hand, and the monster moving from his seat, came onward as fast with horrid strides, so that hell trembled: Satan undaunted admired what this might be, but without fear; for he neither valued nor shunned any thing that was created, nor feared any thing, God and his son excepted, and thus with a disdainful look began first:

'Thou execrable shape! whence and what art thou? that darest, thou grim and terrible, to advance thy miscreant form athwart my way to yonder gates? Be assured that I mean to pass through them, without asking my leave of thee: give way, or feel the effects of thy folly; and learn by proof, hell-born! not to contend with spirits of heaven.

To whom full of wrath, the phantom replied, art thou that traitor angel? Art thou he, who first didst break peace in heaven, and faith, which until then had never been broken, and in proud rebellious arms, drew after him a third part of the sons of heaven, covenanted against the Highest; for which both thou and they are here condemned, outcast from God, to pass eternity in wo and misery? And dost thou reckon thyself with spirits of heaven? hell-doomed! dost thou breathe scorn and defiance here, where I reign king? (and more to enrage thee, thy king, and lord) back, thou fugitive, to thy punishment and add wings to thy speed; lest I pursue thy lingering steps with a whip of scorpions; (a) or at one stroke of this dart strange horror shall seize thee, and such pangs as thou hast never felt before.

The hideous shadow spoke thus; and so speaking and threatening, grew in shape ten times more dreadful

(a) *Scorpion*; Gr. Lat. *i. e. throwing out poison*. A scorpion is a black, short, and very poisonous serpent, with a small head like a crawfish, and a long tail with six or seven knots, wherewith it kills men and beasts.

and deformed. On the other side, Satan stood terrified, and incensed with rage, and burned like a comet, that fires the length of Ophiucus (*b*) in the Artic (*c*) sky, and from his horrid hair is believed to shake war and pestilence. Each at the other's head levelled his mortal aim, their fatal hands intending no second stroke; and they cast such a frown at one another, as when two black clouds full of thunder, come rattling on over the Caspian (*d*) sea, then stand front to front, hovering for a space, until the winds blow a signal for them to join their dark encounter in the midst of the air; so these mighty combatants frowned, insomuch that hell grew darker; so matched they stood: for never but once more was either of them ever like to meet so great a foe. And now great deeds had been performed, of which all hell would have rung, had not the other snaky form, that sat close by hell gate, and who kept the fatal key, risen up, and rushed between with hideous outcry.

(*b*) *Ophiucus*; *i. e.* a serpent-bearer. An astron. term, a northern constellation, called also the serpent, representing a man holding a serpent in his hand; and consists of 29 stars, according to Ptolomy. The fable is taken from Hercules, who squeezed two serpents to death in his cradle.

(*c*) *Artic*; Lat. Gr. an astron. term, the *Northern Circle*, where there are two stars that go by this name, near the north pole; the Great Bear and the Little Bear. The opposite pole is called *Antartic*, or the southern pole.

(*d*) *Caspian*; Scyth. from the *Caspii*, an ancient people, who dwelt upon the south side of it; the Caspian sea is not a sea properly so called, nor a bay of the Northern ocean, as the ancients thought; but a lake; and the greatest in the world. It lies between Persia, Tartary, Georgia, and Muscovy: about 3000 miles in compass; for though the Volga (which alone discharges more water in a year, than all the other rivers in Europe) and 100 rivers besides, run into it; yet it hath no visible outlet. Therefore some think it riseth up in the Persian gulf, after running under ground above 2000 miles.

She cried, Oh father! what does thy hand design against thy only son? Oh son! what fury possesses thee, to bend that mortal dart against the head of thy father? And knowest for whom too; for him who sits above, and only laughs at thee, who art ordained his drudge, to execute whatever his wrath commands, which he calls justice; his wrath, which sometime or other will destroy ye both.

Thus she spoke, and at her bidding the hellish phantom forbore, and Satan made answer to her.

Thy outcry, and thy words, which thou hast interposed, are so strange, that my hand has been prevented by them, from letting thee know by deeds what I intend; until I know first of thee what thou art, thus double formed, and why on first meeting me on this infernal vale thou hast called me father, and that horrid shape my son: I know thee not, nor ever until now saw a sight more detestable than thee and him.

To whom the portress of the gate of hell made answer,

Hast thou forgot me then? And do I seem so very foul in thine eye now, who was once esteemed so fair in heaven, when at the assembly, and in sight of all the seraphim, who combined with thee in bold conspiracy against the great King of heaven, all on a sudden a miserable pain seized on thee, thy eyes grew dim, and swam in darkness, while thy head threw forth flames thick and fast, until it opened on the left side; from whence I sprung, a goddess armed, most like to thyself in shape and brightness of countenance, then shining heavenly fair: all the host of heaven were seized with amazement; they started back, being at first afraid, and called me sin, and held me for an unlucky omen; but grown more familiar, I pleased, and with attracting graces, won those who before were most averse, and thee chief of all, who viewing in me a perfect

image of thyself, becamest enamoured of me, and such joy didst often take with me in secret, that my womb conceived a growing burthen: mean while war arose in heaven, and battles were fought, whereon remained (for what else could) to our Almighty foe a complete victory; to our part loss and defeat through all heaven; down they fell, driven headlong from the skies, into this deep, and in the general fall I fell also; at which time this powerful key was given into my hand, with charge to keep the gates shut for ever, which none can pass without my opening. Here I sat, pensive and alone; but not long, before my womb, made pregnant by thee, and now grown excessively, felt prodigious motion, and pains of child-birth; at last this odious offspring, whom thou seest here, thine own begotten, violently breaking his way, tore through my entrails; so that distorted with fear and pain, my nether parts grew thus transformed: but he, my inbred enemy, issued forth, terribly shaking his fatal dart made to destroy: I fled away, and cried out, Death! at that hideous name hell trembled, and sighed from all her caves, and resounded back, Death! I fled, but he pursued (though more inflamed, it seems, with lust, than with rage) and being far swifter, overtook me his mother, quite overcome with fear; and in forcible embraces, and foul engendering with me in that rape, begot these yelling monsters, that as thou sawest surround me with ceaseless cry; with infinite sorrow to me hourly conceived, and hourly born; for when they list they return into the womb that bred them, and howl and gnaw all my bowels for their food; then bursting forth, put me to fresh and terrible pain, so that I neither find rest or intermission. Directly opposite and before my eyes sits grim Death, my son and foe, who sets them on; and full soon would even devour me, his parent, but that he well knows that his end is involved with mine; he knows that I

should prove a bitter morsel and his bane, whenever that shall happen; so was it pronounced by fate. But I forwarn thee, my father! do thou shun his deadly arrow; neither vainly have hope to be invulnerable in those bright arms of thine, though they were made in heaven, for that mortal stroke there is none can resist, excepting He who reigns above.

She finished here, and the subtle fiend soon learned what was best for him to do; so that now grown milder, he answered thus smoothly:

Dear daughter! since thou claimest me to be thy father, and shewest me my fair son here (the dear pledge of dalliance which I had with thee in heaven, joys then sweet, now sad to mention, through the fatal change that has befallen us quite unthought of and unforeseen) I come not here as an enemy, but to set free from out this dismal and dark house of pain, both him and thee, and all the host of heavenly spirits, that armed in our just pretences fell with us from on high; I now go from them alone, so has it been my choice, on this uncouth errand, and expose myself, one for all, to tread with lonely steps the fathomless deep, and through immensity search with wandering inquiry a place, which was foretold should be created; and if we may judge by concurring signs it is now created; a large globe, a place of bliss, on the borders of heaven, and already therein is placed a race of upstart creatures, to supply, it may be, our vacant room, though removed farther off, lest heaven being over-stocked with too powerful a multitude, new broils might happen: whether this be, or any thing more secret now designed, I am hastening to know; and this once known, I shall soon return, and conduct ye to the place, where thou and death shall dwell at ease, and silently and unseen pass to and fro; there shall ye both be fed, and filled immeasurably, for all things shall be your prey.

He ceased here, for they both seemed highly pleased, and Death grinned horrible a ghastly smile, at hearing that his hunger should be satisfied, and blest his maw, that was destined to so good an hour; his bad mother did not rejoice less, who thus spake to her father Satan:

By the command of heaven's all-powerful King, and by due right, I keep the key of this infernal pit; forbidden by him to unlock these adamantine gates; Death stands ready to interpose his dart against all force, not fearing to be over-matched by any thing created: but what do I owe to his commands above, who hates me, and hath thrust me down hither into this gloom of profound hell, to sit here employed in this hateful office, once an inhabitant of heaven and heavenly-born, yet has doomed me to remain here in perpetual agony and pain, encompassed round with the terrors and clamours of my own brood, that feed themselves with my bowels? Thou art my father, my author, thou gavest me being; whom should I obey and follow but thee? Thou wilt soon lead me to that new world of light and happiness, where among the gods who live at ease, I shall reign voluptuously at thy right hand, time without end.

As she said this, she took from her side the fatal key, the sad instrument of all our woe, and rolling her snaky train towards the gate, forthwith drew up the great portcullice; which excepting herself, not all the combined powers of hell could once have moved; then turns the intricate wards in the key-hole, and with ease unfastens every bolt and bar, though of massy iron, or of solid rock: upon a sudden the infernal doors fly open, with a most violent rebound, and grating noise of the hinges, and jarring sound like harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom of hell's caverns shock.

Thus she opened the gates, but to shut them again was beyond her power; they stood so wide open, that

an army with all its body and wings extended, marching under spread ensigns, might pass through, with all their horses and chariots, though ranked but in loose order: so wide they stood, and cast forth a vast smoke and red flame, like the mouth of a furnace. Before their eyes there suddenly appeared the secrets of the raging deep; a dark infinite ocean, without dimension or bound whatsoever; were length, breadth; height, and time, and place are lost; where eldest Night and Chaos, the first ancestors of nature, hold continual anarchy, amongst the noise of endless strife, and keep their station by confusion: for hot, cold, moist, and dry, four fierce champions; strive here for mastery, and bring to battle the imperfect particles of the first matter; and they swarm populous, each by nature tending to their own factions, in their several clans, whether light, heavy, sharp, smooth, swift, or slow, being numberless as the sands of Barca, (c) or the scorched soil of Cyrene, (d) which is lifted up with warring winds, and driven

(c) *Barca*; Carthag. *i. e.* a desert; or from Amilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal, who is said to have founded it. A large, sandy, barren and dry country in Africa; so called from the capital city of it, lying on the west of Egypt, on the Mediterranean sea, between Egypt and Tripoli, 600 miles from east to west, and 120 miles from south to north: others call it the Sandy Lybia: the chief city is 550 miles from Alexandria in Egypt. Barca separates Egypt from Cyrene.

(d) *Cyrene*; Carthag. from *Cyreno*; *i. e.* a fountain, which springs from a mountain of the same name there; a very barren sandy province of Lybia, towards the great Syrtis, lying upon the Mediterranean sea near Egypt. Cyrene was built by Battus the Lacedemonian, from whom the inhabitants were called Battidæ, and gave the name to the whole country. It strove once with Carthage for some privileges. In the most southern part of it stood the famous temple of Jupiter Ammon; and was the birth-place of Simon, who carried our Saviour's cross to mount Calvary, Mat. 27. 32. Cyrene was also called Pentapolis; Gr. because it contained five fine cities of old.

about the air. What these most adhere to, rules for a moment; Chaos sits umpire, and by his decision embroils the fray the more, by which he reigns; next him the high arbiter Chance governs all: such was this wild abyss, the deep womb of nature, and not unlikely but it shall be her grave, made up of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire, but all these mixed confusedly in their pregnant causes, and which must for ever fight thus, unless the almighty Maker ordain them, his dark materials to create, and form new worlds.

CHAPTER IV.

With what difficulty Satan passes the gulf; directed by Chaos, the power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.

THE wary fiend stood upon the brink of hell, and looked for a while into this wild abyss; for now he had no narrow sea to cross, nor was his ear less deafened with loud and ruinous noises, than (to compare great things with small) when Bellona, (*e*) bent to destroy some capital city, storms it with all her battering engines; or as if this frame of heaven were falling, and these elements in uproar, had torn the stedfast earth from her axle. (*f*)

(*e*) *Bellona*; Lat. *i. e.* the goddess of war. A deity among the old Romans; the mother, sister, and wife of Mars. She had many temples, priests, sacrifices, statues and honours paid her; and was painted with a furious countenance, holding a trumpet, a whip, and sometimes a lighted torch; to shew the dismal effects of war. In time of peace, her temple was shut up.

(*f*) *Axle*; Sax. Lat. Gr. *i. e.* going round; a geog. term, an axle-tree. Here an imaginary line drawn through the centre of the earth, from the north to the south pole; upon which the earth is supposed to move, in its diurnal motion from east to west.

At last Satan spread his wide wings, like sails, for flight, and lifted up in the rising smoke, spurns the ground; thence ascending, rides intrepidly many a league, as it were in a cloudy chair; but that seat soon failing, he meets nothing but the vast empty space: at unawares, fluttering his useless wings directly down he drops ten thousand fathoms deep, and to this hour he had been falling, had not the strong rebuff of a flying cloud, kindled with fire and nitre, hurried him up as many miles aloft: that fury over, he lights on a sinking quicksand, and nigh foundered, makes his way over what was neither sea nor good dry land, treading the crude substance of the abyss half on foot and half flying, that it was requisite for him now to use both oar and sail: as when a griffin (*g*) with winged course, over hell, through wilderness, or moorish vales, pursues the Arimasbian, (*h*) who by stealth had taken from his watchful custody the gold that he had guarded; so eagerly the fiend pursues his way over bog or steep hill, through strait, rough, solid land, or water, with head, hands, and wings or feet; and as he can best, makes his way; either swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies. At length his ear is assaulted with a universal uproar of stunning sounds, and voices all in confusion, which were borne through the hollow darkness; undaunted he bends his way thither, to meet there whatever power, or spirit of the lowermost abyss

(*g*) *Griffin* or *Griffon*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* to gripe fast or squeeze. A fabulous, terrible and rapacious bird, said to be partly like an eagle, partly like a lion; guardians of hidden gold, and dedicated to Apollo, the god and maker of gold, *i. e.* the sun with the heat of his rays.

(*h*) *Arimaspian*; Seyth. from *Ari*, *i. e.* one and *Maspos*, *i. e.* an eye, one eyed; a people of Seythia or Little Tartary in Europe, said to have had but one eye. The truth is, they were expert archers, who shut one eye, that they might with the more exactness hit the mark. Alexander the Great subdued them.

might reside there, of whom he might inquire, which way the nearest coast of darkness lay, that bordered upon light; when straight appears the throne of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread wide upon the wasteful deep; enthroned with him sat dark and sable-habited Night, the eldest of things, and consort of his reign; and by them stood Orcus, (*i*) and Hades, (*k*) and the dreaded name of Demogorgon: (*l*) next Rumour, and Chance, and Confusion, and Tumult, and Discord, with a thousand various mouths, all these in continual mutiny; to whom Satan boldly turning, said thus:

Ye powers, and spirits of this lowermost abyss, Chaos, and ancient Night! I come not hither as a spy, with purpose to pry into, or disturb the secrets of your kingdom, but wander this darksome desert by constraint, as my way up to light lies through your spacious empire; I seek which is the readiest path that leads where your dark bounds join to those of heaven; or if the celestial King possesses some other place lately won from your dominion, I travel this dangerous path to go thither; do you direct my course, which if you do, it will bring no mean recompense to your advantage; if that region be lost, and I can (expelling thence all usurpation) reduce it to original darkness, and your sway (which is the intent of my present journey) and once more establish there the government of ancient Night; let yours be all the advantage, and only mine the revenge!

(*i*) *Orcus*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* an oath; because the supernal gods made their oaths by Orcus, as well as by Styx, another name of hell.

(*k*) *Hades*; Gr. Lat. *i. e.* a dark, hidden and invisible place; the same as Orcus or hell, in holy writ and sacred authors. It is esteemed to be the general receptacle of all souls departed this life, in a state of expectation, till the day of judgment.

(*l*) *Demogorgon*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* beholding the Gorgon, which none could do but he; for she turned all things that looked on her into stones.

Thus spoke Satan, and thus old Chaos answered him, with a visage uncomposed, and faltering in his speech:

Stranger, I know thee, who thou art, that mighty leading angel, who lately made opposition against the King of heaven, though overthrown; I saw and heard; for such a numerous army did not fly in silence through the affrighted deep, with ruin upon ruin, and rout upon rout, confusion worse confounded; and the gates of heaven poured her victorious bands in pursuit, out by millions. I upon my borders here keep residence, if all I can do will serve, I shall not be wanting to strive to defend that little which is yet left me, being continually encroached on through our intestine wars, which weaken the power of old Night: first was hell, your dungeon stretching far and wide below; and now lately heaven and earth, another world, hung over my kingdom, linked in a golden chain, and is on that side of heaven from whence your legions fell: If that be the way you would go, you have not very far; so much the nearer are you to danger: go and success be with you, for all havoc, spoil, and ruin are my gain.

He said no more, and Satan did not stay to make him a reply, but glad that he was like to find a shore to his sea, with fresh cheerfulness and renewed force, he springs upwards like a pyramid (*m*) of fire into the wide firmament, and forces his way through the shock of elements, fighting on all sides round him; in more

(*m*) *Pyramid*; *i. e.* *fire*, a geometrical term. A pyramid is a heap of square stones, rising up like a flame of fire in four squares. There are about 80 pyramids near Grand Cairo, in Egypt, the wonder of the world to this day, though they have stood 4000 years, and may continue as long again; three of them are very large, besides many small ones. The Arabs call them *Dgebel Pharaon* and the Turks *Pharaon Deglary*, *i. e.* *Pharaoh's hills*. Mr. Lucas saw above 20,000 pyramids near Cæsarea in Lesser Asia.

danger and harder beset, than when the Argo (*n*) passed through the Bosphorus, (*o*) betwixt the crowded rocks; or when Ulysses (*p*) shunned Charybdis (*q*) on the larboard side, and steered by the whirlpool of Scyl-

(*n*) *Argo*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. swift*; because of her swift sailing; being rowed with 50 oars, which was a new invention of Jason; or from the builder of it; and Cicero derives it from the Argives or Greeks, who sailed in it. The ship wherein Jason and other valiant Greeks made a famous expedition to Colchis, now Mingrelia, Georgia and Iberia, upon the Pontus, to bring from thence the golden fleece into Greece. The expedition of the Argonauts, celebrated in ancient history, was in the reign of Ægeus, king of Athens, about A.M. 1741. Before Christ 1284. It was no more than a bold and new voyage to bring home fine wool, the valuable commodity of that country, as the British wool is now; or carry off the treasure of the king of Colchis, which consisted of gold, gathered out of the rivers, by the help of a ram's fleece; because Gaza, Heb. signifies a treasure and a fleece: the two bulls and a dragon were the two walls round the castle, and a brass gate. For *Sour*, Heb. signifies both a bull and a gate; brass and a dragon.

(*o*) *Bosphorus*, *Bosporus*, or *Bosperus*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. the passage of an ox*, as we say *Oxford*. A passage into the Euxine sea, by Constantinople, through which Jason passed with much difficulty and danger in his voyage. It is so strait and narrow, that cattle swim over it, and they hear the cocks crowing and dogs barking from one side to another. Now *Stretti de Constantinopli*, Ital. *i. e. the straits of Constantinople*.

(*p*) *Ulysses*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. all strength, robust*; or contracted from his original name, *Odusseus*, Gr. *i. e. the public road*: because his mother, overtaken in a violent rain, was delivered of him on the high way. The son of Laertes, prince of Ittacha and Dulichia, islands in the Ægean sea; an eloquent, cunning Greek, celebrated by Homer, Virgil, Ovid, &c. After the siege of Troy, he is said to have suffered divers hardships for ten years more in his return home, particularly passing by Sicily.

(*q*) *Charybdis*; Heb. *i. e. a gulf of perdition*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. gaping and sucking in*. A very dangerous part of the sea of Sicily, between Messina and Italy, where divers ships have been sucked in; and Ulysses had much ado to escape drowning.

la: so did Satan move on, and pass with great difficulty and very hard labour; but he having once passed, soon after when Man fell, was a strange alteration; for Sin and Death quickly following his path (such was the will of heaven) paved after him a very broad and beaten way over the dark gulf, and built thereon a bridge of wondrous length, continued from hell, and reaching to the utmost orb of this frail world; over which the perverse and fallen spirits pass and repass with an easy intercourse, to punish mortals, or lead them into temptation, excepting such, who by more especial grace, are guarded by God and good angels.

But now at last appears the sacred influence of light, and far into the bosom of dim Night shoots a glimmering dawn from the walls of heaven; Nature first begins here her farthest bounds, and Chaos retires from her utmost works like a broken foe, with less tumult and less hostile noise; so that Satan with little toil (and presently with ease) passes on calm waves, assisted by some small degree of light; and like a weather-beaten vessel is glad to find harbour, though her shrouds and tackling be all damaged and torn; or else in the emptier waste something resembling the air, lies on his spread wings to behold at leisure the distant empyreal heaven, in circuit extended wide, but its form and limits not determined; with towers of precious stones and battlements of living sapphires, (*r*) once the native seat of Satan; and just by was this pendent world, hanging in a golden chain, in bigness about the size of one of the smallest stars, and close by the moon. Thither accursed, and in an accursed hour he hastens, quite filled with malice and mischievous revenge.

(*r*) *Saphir*; Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *i. e.* numbered; because one must pay down very dear for it. A very clear, hard, and precious stone, of the colour of the sky, with sparkles of gold, and the hardest next to a diamond: it was put into the breast-plate of the high-priest; Exod. xxviii. 18. Rev. xxi. 19.

THE THIRD BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

God sitting on his throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shews him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretells the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as Satan did, but by him seduced. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares that grace cannot be extended towards Man, without the satisfaction of divine justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to godhead; and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death, must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in heaven and earth; commands all the angels to adore him; they obey, and singing to their harps in full choir celebrate the Father and the Son. Satan lights upon the bare convex of the world's outermost orb, where he first finds a place since

called the Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither. Satan comes to the gates of heaven, described ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: his passage thence to the orb of the sun: he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb; but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner angel; inquires after the habitation of Man and is directed; alights first on the mount Niphates.

CHAPTER I.

God sees Satan flying towards this world, foretells his success in perverting mankind; and declares his purpose of grace thereupon.

HAIL holy light! (who if not from everlasting with the Deity, art the first offspring of heaven) may I express thee without blame? since God himself is light, and dwelling in light from eternity has always been unapproachable, always dwelt in thee, thou bright effluence of the bright uncreated being; or shall I rather call thee a pure heavenly stream, whose fountain is God. Thou wert before the sun and the heavens, and at the voice of God didst adorn the rising world, which before was dark, and but just risen from the chaos, without form and infinitely void. Now I visit thee again with fresh courage, having long been treating of darkness, and hell, and the shades of obscurity; having been taught by the heavenly Spirit to venture down the dark descent, and to ascend up again to speak of thee. Thee I now safely revisit, and feel thy sovereign quickening lamp; but thou revisitest not these eyes, that in vain roll to find thy piercing ray; so thick a darkness and suffusion hath veiled them and extinguished, that they never find a dawn! Yet do I not for that reason cease to wander among clear springs, or shady groves, or sunny hills, where the muses haunt; the love of sacred song always delighting me. But chiefly Sion, thee I visit nightly, and the flowery brooks that wash thy hallowed foot, flowing sweetly; nor do

I forget sometimes those other two inspired writers, whom fate made equal with me, and to whom I wish I were equal in fame, blind *Thamyris*, (a) and blind *Mæonides*, (b) and *Tiresias*, (c) and *Phineus*, (d) who

(a) *Thamyris*, Lat. Gr. *i. e. wonderful*. A poet of Thrace, who had the vanity to contend with the muses in singing, but lost it; therefore they put out his eyes, and took away his harp. This fable teaches us the danger and vanity of mocking God, of self-sufficiency and pride.

(b) *Mæonides*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. the son of Mæon*, for *Homer*, Gr. *i. e. one that doth not see*: because he despised the vanities of the world, not that he was really deprived of his eye-sight; others say, that his blindness came by an accident. But his proper name was *Melisegenes*, from the river *Meles*, where he was born. He was so poor, that he begged his bread; yet when he was dead, seven cities, contended for the honour of his nativity; *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, *Colophon*, *Salamis*, *Chios*, *Argos*, *Athenæ*. He was born according to the best account, A.M. 3120, 340 years after the destruction of *Troy*, and 884 before the incarnation. An ancient and most celebrated poet among the Greeks, the wittiest man that ever lived, who had none to imitate (except *Moses*, from whom he took his best thoughts) was never matched by any that came after him, except now by *Milton*, and a pattern to all poets, philosophers and historians to this day. He wrote the wars of *Troy* in twenty-four books, called the *Iliads*, and the dangerous voyages of *Ulysses*, in the *Odysseys*, in as many. The greatest veneration has been paid to his name in all ages: and *Milton* modestly wishes he might be equalled to him therein, though in many respects he hath exceeded *Homer* himself, and *Virgil* also in epic poem, both in the grandeur of his subject, in his learning, characters, and every thing else.

(c) *Tiresias*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. a star*; because he foretold some things by the knowledge of astrology. A blind poet and a soothsayer of *Thebes*; long before *Homer*: the son of *Evetrus* and *Chariclo*. He was struck blind either for peeping too curiously upon *Minerva* in the fountain *Hypocrene*; or for deciding the cause between *Jupiter* and *Juno* to her dissatisfaction; for which *Jupiter* gave him the faculty of divination or soothsaying.

(d) *Phineus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. shining, illustrious*. A king and prophet of *Arcadia*, who for putting out the eyes of his

were prophets of old. Then I feed on thoughts, that naturally move to harmony; as the wakeful nightingale in the dark, and hid in the thickest shade, sings her sweet song by night. Thus the seasons return with the year, but neither day, nor the sweet approach of evening or morning, or sight of blossoms in the spring, or summer's rose, or flocks, or herds, or face of Man, the image of his Maker, return to me; but instead of that a cloud and ever-during darkness surrounds me, cut off from the cheerful ways of men, and for the book of fair knowledge presented with an universal blot of nature's works, which are to me all expunged and erased, and wisdom at the great entrance of sight quite shut out: so much the rather do thou celestial light shine inward, and enlighten my mind through all her powers; there plant eyes, purge and disperse all ignorance from thence, that I may see and tell of things which to mortal sight are invisible.

Now the almighty Father had bent down his eye from above, from the pure heaven, where he sits high throned above all height, to view at once his own works and their works; about him the most pure and holy angels of heaven stood as thick as stars, and from his sight received unspeakable happiness: on his right hand sat his only Son, the bright image of his glory. He first beheld on earth our two first parents, Adam and Eve, as yet the only two of mankind, placed in the happy garden of Eden, (*e*) reaping immortal fruits children, and for revealing the secrets of the gods to men, was punished with blindness.

(*e*) *Eden*; an Hebrew word. It signifies pleasure and delight: because it was the most pleasant place upon earth, and Paradise was in it. Eden was a country in Chaldea, thought by some to be the same as Mesopotamia, near Babylon, lying between the Euphrates and the Tygris, well watered with these and other rivers, and most fruitful. But the learned Huetius proves, that Eden lay on the south of Babylon, and the terrestrial paradise

of unrivalled love and uninterrupted joy in a happy solitude. The eternal Father then saw hell and the gulf between, and Satan there coasting the wall of heaven, high in the thick air, and on this side of Night, ready to stoop with willing feet and tired wings upon the bare outside of this world, that seemed like land encompassed without firmament; nor could Satan at that distance, tell whether it was surrounded with air or water. God saw him from his high prospect, wherein he beholds all past, present, and future things, and foreseeing what was afterwards to be, thus spoke to his only Son:

Only Begotten, dost thou behold what rage transports our adversary, whom no prescribed bounds, nor bars of hell, nor all the chains heaped on him there, nor yet the vast gulf now separated from the new creation can hold? so eager he seems for desperate revenge, which shall fall upon his own rebellious head; now broke loose from his confinement, he takes his flight not far from heaven, and upon the borders of light, directly towards the world newly created, and towards Man placed there, with purpose to try if he can destroy him by force, or what is worse, by some allurements pervert him; which last will be the case; for Man will give ear to his flattering and deceitful lies, and transgress the only command which is the pledge of his obedience; so will he fall, and with him his faithless progeny. Whose is the fault? Whose but his own? Ungrateful, disobedient Man! I made him

on the east side of Eden, between the first joining of the Euphrates and the Tygris, and there parting again, when they make the Pyson and the Gihon, which run into the Persian gulf at different mouths; as Moses has described these four rivers, Gen. ii. 8—16. *De situ parad. terrestris.* For these properties it is highly commended in holy scripture, Gen. ii. 8. Isa. li. 3. Ezek. xxxi. 8, 9. &c.

just and right, with power sufficient to have stood, yet left him free to fall; and so I created all the powers and spirits of heaven, both them who stood and them who failed; freely they stood who stood, and they who fell had the same freedom. Had they not been free, what sincere proof could they have given of allegiance, true love, or constant faith, where nothing would appear but what they needs must do, not what they would? What praise could they receive, or what pleasure I, from such an obedience? When will and reason (for reason also is choice) stripped of their freedom, both become useless and vain, and would serve necessity, not me; they therefore as belong to right, were so created; nor can they with justice accuse me, their Maker, or their making, nor blame their fate, as if predestination had over-ruled their will, disposed by high fore-knowledge and an absolute decree: their own revolt they decreed themselves, and not I: if I did fore-know, my fore-knowledge had not the least influence over their fault, which had I not fore-known, had proved no less certain: so without the least enforcement or imagination of fate, or any thing foreseen by me, which may hereafter happen, do they offend: authors to themselves in every thing, as well of what they judge, as of what they choose; for I formed them free, and so they must remain until they enslave themselves; else I must change their nature, and abolish the high, unchangeable, and eternal decree, which ordained their freedom: it was they themselves ordained their fall: the first sort fell self-depraved, self-tempted, voluntarily, and by their own evil thoughts: Man falls too, but is first deceived by the other: therefore Man shall find grace, but the other none; so shall my glory, both in justice and mercy, shine through heaven and earth; but that which first and last shall shine the brightest, shall be mercy.

CHAPTER II.

The Son of God on his Father's declaring that divine justice must be satisfied for Man's sin, freely offers himself a ransom for them; which the Father accepts.

WHILE God spake, a sweet fragrance filled all heaven, and diffused a fresh and unspeakable pleasure in the blessed and elect angels. The son of God was seen most glorious and beyond compare; all his Father shone in him, expressed substantially, and in his face appeared visibly divine compassion, love without end, and grace without measure, which to his Father he thus gave utterance:

Oh Father! that word was gracious which closed thy sovereign sentence, and which promised that Man should find grace; for which both heaven and earth shall highly extol thy praises, with the sound of innumerable hymns and holy songs, which round about thy throne shall proclaim thee ever blest: for shall Man, thy creature late so beloved, created since the angels, be finally lost, and fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joined with his own weakness? Far be that from thee, great Father! who art judge of all created things, and who alone judgest right. Or shall the enemy thus obtain his ends, and frustrate thine? Shall he fulfil his wickedness and render thy goodness useless, or proudly return to hell (though to a heavier doom, yet with his revenge accomplished) and draw after him the whole race of mankind corrupted by him? Or wilt thou thyself unmake and abolish for him, what thou hast made for a purpose of thy own glory? So shall thy goodness and thy greatness both be called in question, and be blasphemed without defence.

To whom the great Creator replied thus: my Son, in whom my soul hath its chief delight, Son of my bosom, who art alone my word, my wisdom, and my effectual power! all the words that thou hast spoken are my thoughts, and as my eternal purpose hath already decreed: Man shall not be quite lost, but who will shall be saved, yet not wholly of will in him, but grace in me, freely bestowed on him; I will once more renew his impaired faculties, though forfeited, and dragged by reason of sin to foul and exorbitant desires; yet once more upheld by me, he shall stand on even ground against his mortal foe, upheld by me; that he may fully know how frail his fallen condition is, and to me, and none but me, owe all his deliverance. Some, out of my peculiar grace, I have elected and chosen above the rest, such is my will; the rest shall hear me call, and have frequent warnings to leave their sinful state, and to appease betimes (while grace is yet offered) an angry God; for I will sufficiently clear their dark senses, and soften their stony hearts, until they pray and repent, and bring due obedience. To prayer, repentance, and due obedience, mine ear shall not be slow nor mine eyes shut. And I will place within them, as a guide, the great witness, conscience; whom if they will hear, they shall attain light after light, and persevering to the end, shall at last obtain eternal happiness: they who neglect and scorn the day of my grace, and this my long sufferance, shall never enter into my rest, but being hard shall be more hardened, and being blind shall be the more blinded, that they may make the more errors, and their fall may be the greater; and none but such have I excluded from mercy. But all is not yet done; Man disloyally disobeying me, has broke my commandment, and sins against the high supremacy of heaven, coveting to be a God and losing all: to atone for his treason there is nothing left, but

he with his whole posterity must die, devoted for destruction; he must certainly die, or else justice must; unless some other, both able and willing, pay for him the complete satisfaction. Speak, Powers of heaven! where shall we find such love? Which of ye will become mortal to redeem mankind, and being just, be willing to die to save the unjust? Dwells there in all heaven so dear a charity?

God asked the question, but the angels all were mute, and there was silence in heaven; there was none who so much as appeared on the behalf of Man, either to defend him or intercede for him, much less that durst draw upon himself the deadly penalty, or pay the ransom required. And now by the severe sentence of the Father, all mankind must have been lost, and condemned to death and hell without redemption, had not the Son of God in whom dwells the fulness of divine love, thus renewed his dear mediation:

Father! thy word is past, that Man shall find grace, and shall not grace find out means, that finds her way the speediest of all thy messengers? That visits all thy creatures, unsought for, unasked for, and unmerited? Happy for Man that so it comes, for he once lost and dead in sin, can never seek her assistance, and being indebted and undone, hath no atonement or fit sacrifice to bring for himself. Behold me then! I offer myself for him, my life for his; let all thy anger fall upon me; account me as Man: for his sake I will leave thy bosom, and freely put off this glory, which I possess next to thee, and lastly with pleasure die for him: let Death execute all his rage on me, I shall not lie long under his gloomy power: thou hast given me to possess life in myself for ever, and by thee I live: though now I yield up and give to death all of me that can die; yet that debt once paid, thou wilt not leave me, his prey, in the loathsome grave, nor suffer my unspotted

soul to dwell with corruption there for ever; but I shall rise victorious, and overcome my vanquisher, and rob him of his spoils; Death shall then receive his last wound, and disarmed of his mortal sting, shall be destroyed; I shall lead hell captive in triumph, spite of hell, and shew all the powers of darkness bound; thou at the sight shalt look down pleased out of heaven, while I supported by thee ruin all my foes, Death the last of all, and with his carcase shall glut the grave; then after long absence shall return and enter heaven, with the multitude of my redeemed, to see thy face, wherein no cloud of anger shall remain, but assured peace and reconcilement; thence forward entire joy shall be in thy presence, and wrath shall be no more.

Here his words ended; but his meek aspect, though he was silent, spake, and breathed immortal love to mankind, above which only shone filial obedience; he attends the will of his great Father, as a sacrifice glad to be offered up. All heaven was seized with admiration, what this might mean, and whether it would tend; but the Almighty soon replied:

My sole delight! the only peace in heaven and earth found out for mankind, under wrath; thou knowest well how dear all my works are to me, and it shows Man not the least so, though the last created; seeing that for his sake I spare thee from my bosom and right hand, to save (by losing thee for a time) the whole race that was lost: do thou, therefore, join thy nature also to theirs, whom thou alone canst redeem; and be thyself a Man upon earth among men; and made flesh, when the fulness of time shall be, of virgin-seed, by a miraculous birth: be thou in the room of Adam, (*f*) the

(*f*) *Adam*; *i. e. red.* The name of the first man and first woman: because they were formed of the red dust of the earth, Gen. ii. 7. v. 2. As *homo* in Lat. is from *humus*, *i. e.* the ground: which points at both our original and end.

head of all mankind, though one of his sons; as in him all men perish, so as from a second root, in thee shall be restored as many as are restored, and without thee none: his crime makes all his sons guilty; thy merit accounted for theirs, shall absolve all those who renounce their own deeds, both righteous and unrighteous, and live ingrafted in thee, and receive new light from thee: so (as is most just) Man shall satisfy for Man, be judged and die, and afterwards rise again, and with him raise his brethren, ransomed with his own dear life: so hellish hate shall be outdone by heavenly love, giving itself to death, and dying; so dearly redeem what hellish hate destroyed so easily, and still does destroy in all those, who when they may will not accept of grace. Nor shalt thou lessen or debase thy own nature, by condescending to assume that of Man; because, though enthroned in highest bliss, equal to God, and enjoying the same as the Father, thou hast quitted all, to save a whole world from utter loss, and hast been found the Son of God, by merit more than by birthright; formed worthy to be so, by reason of being good, far more than by being great or high; because love hath abounded in thee far beyond glory: therefore thy humiliation shall with thee exalt thy manhood also to this throne; here thou shalt sit incarnate, and reign here, both God and Man, the Son both of God and Man, anointed the universal king; all power I give unto thee, do thou reign for ever, and assume all adoration as thy merit; all the angels of heaven I put under thy government; to thee, as the supreme head, every knee, shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; when thou shalt appear in the sky, attended gloriously from heaven, and send from thee archangels, with a summons proclaiming thy dread tribunal: forthwith from all corners of the earth the living

shall hasten to the general doom, and the cited dead of all ages; (for such a peal shall rouse them from their sleep) then all thy saints being assembled, thou shalt judge bad men and bad angels, when they come to be arraigned, they shall sink beneath thy sentence, and hell (the number of the damned being filled up) shall be thenceforward shut up for ever. Mean while the world shall burn, and there shall arise from her ashes a new heaven and a new earth, wherein just men shall dwell; and after all their long persecutions and sufferings see happy days, that shall bring forth nothing but joy, love triumphing, and fair truth: after this thou shalt lay thy regal sceptre by, for there shall then be no farther use for it but God shall be all in all. All ye angels of heaven, give adoration to him, who to compass all this dies; adore him, who is my only Son, and honour him even as ye honour me.

No sooner had the Almighty pronounced this, than the multitude of angels gave a shout, uttering joy; loud as from numbers which were not to be numbered, and sweet as from blest voices; heaven rung with (*g*) jubilee, and loud Hosannas (*h*) filled the eternal regions.

(*g*) *Jubilee*; Lat. Gr. Heb. *i. e.* a ram and a ram's horn: because the Jews proclaimed their feasts with the sound of trumpets made of rams' horns, Lev. xxv. 8. The word came first from Jubal the son of Lamech, the inventor of musical instruments, Gen. iv. 21.

(*h*) *Hosannas*; Lat. Gr. Heb. *i. e.* *save we beseech thee*, or *God bless the king*. Solemn rejoicings among the Jews in the feast of tabernacles and congratulations to their kings.—“ And the
“ disciples went, and did as Jesus commanded them, and brought
“ the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they
“ set him thereon. And a very great multitude spread their
“ garments in the way; others cut down branches from the trees,
“ and strewed them in the way. And the multitudes that went
“ before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the son
“ of David: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord,
“ Hosanna in the highest.”

Toward either throne they bow lowly, reverent, and cast down to the ground their crowns, with solemn adoration; crowns that were adorned with gold and immortal amaranth, a flower which once began to blow in Paradise, just by the tree of life: but after Man's fall was removed to heaven, where it first grew, now grows, and with its never-fading bloom shades the fountain of life, and all along where the clear river of bliss flows through the midst of heaven; with these immortal flowers the elect spirits bind their glorious locks, wreathed in with beams of light. Now the bright pavement, that shone like a sea of jasper, made purple with heavenly roses, was covered with the garlands which they had thrown off; afterwards taking their crowns again, and their golden harps that hung (always tuned) like quivers glittering by their side, with sweet preamble of charming symphony; they usher in their most sacred song and exalted praises, no voice being exempt; for such concord there is in heaven, that there was no voice but could well join in such melodious ecstasy.

To thee, Oh! great God and Father of all! they sung first, almighty, unchangeable, immortal, infinite and eternal King! the author of all being, and the fountain of light, thyself being invisible, and not to be approached amidst the glorious brightness where thou sittest enthroned; but then when thou casts a shadow over the first blaze of thy beams, thy skirts appear, though drawn round about thee, like a radiant shrine; darkening with excessive brightness, and dazzling heaven, so that the brightest seraphim cannot approach, until they have veiled their eyes with their wings.

Thee, first of all creation, thee they sung next, begotten Son! Divine similitude! in whose countenance, without a cloud and made visible in the flesh, the almighty Father shines, whom no creature else can be-

hold: on thee impressed abides the effulgence of his glory, and on thee rests his spirit, poured out in abundance and at full: by thee he created the heaven of heavens, and all the powers that are therein; and by thee threw down such of those, as through pride and ambition became rebellious: then thou didst not spare thy Father's dreadful thunder, nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook the everlasting frame of heaven; while thou drovest over the neck of the warring angels, routed and put to flight: returning back from the pursuit, thy holy angels celebrated thee with loud shouts, calling thee Son of thy Father's might, to execute fierce vengeance on his enemies: not so on Man; but he through the malice of devils fallen, thou Father of mercy and grace, didst not doom him so strictly, but much rather inclined to pity: no sooner did thy dear and only Son perceive that purpose, but he much more inclined to pity, to appease thy wrath, and end the contest perceivable in thee, between thy justice and thy mercy, without regard to the throne of bliss whereon he sat, and second to thee, offered himself to die for the offence and disobedience of Man. Oh love! without example, love truly divine! Hail the Son of God, hail Saviour of men! henceforth thy name shall be the great subject of our song, nor shall our harps ever neglect thy praises, or separate them from the praises of God the eternal Father.

Thus happily the angels spent their time in heaven above the starry sphere, in singing hymns of holy praise and songs of joy.

CHAPTER III.

Satan lights upon the bare convex of the world's outermost orb, where he first finds a place since called the Limbo of Vanity.

MEAN while Satan lighted and walked upon that firm opacous globe of this round world, whose first convex divides the inferior orbs that are under it, and encloses them from Chaos and Night: afar off it seemed a globe, but now a boundless continent, dark, waste, and wild, under the darkness of Night, exposed, starless, with storms of Chaos always blustering round it, and an inclement sky; excepting on that side, which, though a great distance from the walls of heaven, gains some small reflection of glimmering air, less vexed with loud tempest; here the fiend walked at large; as when a vulture (*i*) upon the mountain Imaus, (*k*) (whose snowy ridge bounds in the roving inhabitants of Tartary) (*l*) having left a country where there was scarcity

(*i*) *Vulture*; Lat. *i. e.* of a *piercing sharp sight*. A very voracious bird, bigger than an eagle, of an excellent sagacity of sight and smelling above all other birds; so that it can perceive the savour of dead carcases fifty miles off; and appear two or three days before any great slaughter. They feed only upon carcases, but prey not upon any living creatures.

(*k*) *Imaus*; Lat. Gr. Tat. contracted from *Mus Tag*, *i. e.* the mountain of snow, as the Tartars call it; being always covered therewith. A vast high mountain in Asia, a part of mount Taurus, rising from it near the Caspian sea; and extending to the spring of the Ganges. It parts Tartary from India, dividing it into two parts, *i. e.* *Tartary within and Tartary without* the Imaus. Now Dalinguer.

(*l*) *Tartary*; Syr. *i. e.* *dark*, a remnant; because they are thought to be the remainder of the ten tribes of Israel. Tartary, is a very large country between Muscovy and India, about 3000 miles in length, and 2250 miles in breadth; the third part

of prey, with intent to devour the flesh of lambs and young kids, flies towards the springs of Ganges, (*m*) or Hydaspes, (*n*) (which are rivers of India) but in his way lights on the barren plains of Sericana, (*o*) where

of Asia. The Romans called it Scythia, *i. e.* wrathful and furious; or Teut. *schieten*, *i. e.* shooting; because the Scythians were excellent shooters or marksmen. The Persians and Chinese call it Tataria and Tata, *i. e.* invaders and robbers, from Tatar, the eldest son of Alanza-Chan, who was their founder. The Tartars became better known in Europe about A.D. 1168, when they subdued part of Muscovy, and became masters of China; though it is not thoroughly known to this day. The epithet roving is very proper; because they wander about in companies, in tents, feeding their cattle, without any fixed houses, or habitations. See the genealogical history of the Tartars, translated from the Tartar manuscript, A.D. 1730.

(*m*) *Ganges*; Ind. *i. e.* the river, or from a king of that name. A famous river of India, larger than any in Europe, except the Volga and Danube, especially when it overflows; but noted for the goodness and lightness of its water. The Indians say, it sanctifies them when they drink or wash themselves in it. Four or five hundred thousand of them are seen about it, throwing money into it, &c. which they think may be useful to them when dead. The Great Mogul and all others drink the waters of it; for it is carried far and near, and sold at a dear price, because they foolishly fancy that it springs from Paradise. It riseth on Mount Imaus in Tartary, divides the whole empire into two parts, after a course of 300 German miles, or 1300 English, discharges itself into the bay of Bengal in five chief mouths. In some places it is five leagues over: there are many large islands in it beset with fine trees, which give a delightful prospect. It overflows at the usual time of the year, as the Nile, Niger, Euphrates, &c. from the same cause. Now called Ganga, by the inhabitants there.

(*n*) *Hydaspes*; Ind. from a king of that name. Another famous river of India, which runs by Nysa, Lahor, and other great cities, into the Indian ocean.

(*o*) *Sericana*; Arab. *i. e.* the country of Seres; the posterity of Joktan, who from Arabia Fælix peopled that part of India, between Indus and Hydaspes near to China, now called *Cathy*;

the Chinese (*p*) drive their light cany wagons with wind and sails: so the fiend walked up and down, alone, upon this new region, bent on his prey; alone indeed, for in the place where he now was, no other creature might be found, living or dead; none as yet, but afterwards like airy vapours flew up from the earth great store of all transitory and vain things, when Sin had filled the works of men with vanity, and not only all vain things, but all who in vain things built their fond hopes of glory, or lasting fame, or their happiness, either in this or the other life; all who have their re-

Tat. *i. e. a great eastern country.* Those ancient people were the inventors and first workers of silk, from whence it is called Sericum. This and China was called the silken kingdom; for in one province of China (as Le Comte says) there seems to be silk sufficient for all the world. See page 438. † Obs. Silk was known in Europe first in Justinian's time, about the middle of the 5th century, by two monks who came from India.

(*p*) *Chinese*; the people of China. The ancient Hebrews called it Sin; the moderns, Zin; the Arabs, Essin; the Persians and Tartars, Ischin; and the Europeans, Sinarum Regio, and China, from the Sinæ, from one of its ancient monarchs, Cina or Chinc; or from Chung; *i. e. the kingdom of the middle*; because the Chinese think it lies in the middle of the earth: or, an excellent country: or, from Sem, whose posterity they are. China is a most ancient and large empire in the east of Asia: it was founded soon after the flood, and governed by its own emperors above 4000 years, till the Tartars expelled the last emperor, called Faetius or Fachir; A.D. 1278, and was not known to the Europeans till the 12th century. It is about 1380 miles in length, 1260 miles in breadth, and consists of 16 provinces, most of which are as large as any kingdom in Europe. The people, for their numbers, learning, laws, customs, &c. differ from all others, because they had no conversation with any. They are very cunning, conceited, industrious, almost all pagans, and grand cheats. The Chinese have above 60,000 letters, yet not above 300 words, and write from the top to the bottom of the page. Their country is so plain, that in many places of it, they drive wagons made of a sort of cane, with sails and winds.

ward upon earth, who go about only seeking to gain the praise of men, the fruits of painful superstition and blind zeal; such find here a fit retribution, as empty as their own deeds: all the unfinished works of nature, all that are abortive, monstrous, or not mixed according to kind, being dissolved upon earth fly hither, and wander vainly here until final dissolution; not in the neighbouring moon, as Aristo and some others have dreamed (that bright planet may more likely be supposed to be inhabited by translated saints, or spirits of a middle nature, betwixt the angelical and human kind) hither, to this Limbo of Vanity, came first those giants, who were born when the sons of God joined themselves ill to the daughters of those who were not of God: the next who came were the builders of Babel upon the plain of Shinar, (*q*) who still had they wherewithal would build new Babels: others came single, Empedocles, (*r*) who, that he might be thought a god, fondly leaped into the flames of the burning mount *Ætna*; and

(*q*) *Shinar*; Heb. *i. e. scattered*: because the people were scattered over all the earth: or, striking out of a tooth, from the confusion of all languages, Gen. x. 10. A part of Chaldea, where Nimrod built his tower. For countries were called from the captains of those that first settled in them: but this is so called, to keep up the memory of that sad accident to future ages.

(*r*) *Empedocles*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. stable in glory*. A vainglorious philosopher, historian, and poet; and disciple of Pythagoras; born at Agrigentum in Sicily, the son of Meon, who once refused a kingdom. He flourished in the 84th Olympiad, A.M. 3558, and before Jesus Christ 468. He wrote a book of natural philosophy in heroic verse, and is supposed to be the first that had any knowledge of rhetoric. To be honoured as a god after death, he stole from his company by night, and threw himself into the mouth of mount *Ætna*, as if he had been translated into heaven: but the flames threw up his brazen sandals, and soon betrayed his ambition. See *Horat. de arti poet.* But others say, that he fell into the sea, and was drowned.

Cleombrotus, (*s*) who leaped into the sea, to enjoy the elysium of Plato; (*t*) and many more too tedious to mention; Embrio's idiots, and hermits; (*u*) friars, white,

(*s*) *Cleombrotus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. the glory of mortals*. A foolish young Greek of Ambracia, a city of Epirus, who was so much taken with Plato's book of the immortality of the soul, that he leaped headlong from a wall into the sea, the sooner to be a partaker of the bliss in Elysium. Cicero, two of that name were kings of Sparta, long before this man.

(*t*) *Plato*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. broad*: because he was hunch-backed, and broad in his forehead. His first name was Aristotle, Gr. *i. e. the best glory*; for the name of his grandfather; but he retained the latter. A famous philosopher, born at Athens, in the first year of the 68th Olympiad, A.M. 3576, before Jesus Christ 482, and died in the first year of the 88th Olympiad, before Jesus Christ 348, aged 81, and upon the same day he was born. Being an infant, and sleeping one day under a myrtle tree, a swarm of bees settled upon his lips, which was taken for an omen, that he should be very eloquent, which happened to be true; and therefore he was called the Athenian Bee, for the sweetness of his style. By his travels into Egypt, Chaldea, India, and reading the books of Moses and the prophets, he attained great knowledge of God, religion, and nature; therefore he is called the divine Plato. He was scholar to Socrates, Euclid, and the best masters of the age. He was a notable rhetorician, chief of the academies, and produced many eminent scholars: nay, the primitive Christians embraced his system of philosophy, as far nearer to the holy scriptures, than that of the Epicureans, Stoics, and Peripatetics. He has left many books, which are written in the form of dialogues, except only his epistles. Quintilian says, that he seems not to speak the language of men, but of the gods.

(*u*) *Hermites*; Gr. *i. e. dwellers in the wilderness*. At first, holy men, for the sake of Christ and their lives, in hot persecutions, hid themselves in deserts, dens, and caves; and gave themselves wholly to fasting, praying, and great austerities. Paul the Theban, about A.D. 260, lived about 100 years in a cave: Anthony instituted the hermitical life in Egypt, and died A.D. 361. But the church of Rome hath made many innovations therein since.

black, and gray, with all their foolish trumpery: hither pilgrims (*x*) roam, that have wandered so far, to seek him dead in Golgotha, (*y*) who lives in heaven; and they, who to be certain of going to Paradise, put on the weeds of Saint Dominic (*z*) when they are dying, or think to slip in, disguised in the habit of Saint Francis: (*a*) they pass the seven planets, (*b*) and the fixed stars, and all that is talked of, of crystalline spheres and primum mobile: and now Saint Peter at the entrance of heaven seems to wait for them with his keys, and now they lift their feet as at the ascent of heaven, when a violent cross wind from either coast, blows them transverse through the pathless air, ten thousand leagues away: then cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, are fluttered into rags: then re-

(*x*) *Pilgrims*; Fr. from the Lat. *i. e.* *strangers*; men that travelled through foreign countries, to pay their devotions to saints departed, shrines, relies. The Christian pilgrims went to Jerusalem, Rome, St. Iago, &c. and the Turkish to Mecca, in Arabia, every year in solemn processions, to visit the tomb of Muhammed.

(*y*) *Golgotha*; Heb. Syr. *i. e.* *a scull*: because of the skulls and other bones of criminals executed there. The place where Christ was crucified on mount Moriah, upon the north side of Jerusalem. Mat. xxvii. 33. it was the same spot whereon Isaac was to be offered 2000 years before, and was a lively type of this.

(*z*) *Dominic*; Sp. Ital. Fr. Lat. *i. e.* *the Lord*. *Dominicus*, a Spaniard, was the author of that order, called Dominican friars, instituted A.D. 1205. The inquisitors are of this order. Some ignorant creatures put upon dying persons a priest's robe of these orders, to carry them safe through pergatory.

(*a*) St. Francis was an Italian merchant, first called John, who instituted the order of Franciscan friars, A.D. 1192.

(*b*) *Planets*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* *wandering stars*; because of their various motions. An astron. term, they are seven in number, viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon.

liques, (c) beads, (d) indulgencies, (e) dispensations, (f) pardons, bulls, (g) are all the sport of winds: all these whirled upwards, fly over the back side of the world into a large and broad Limbo, (h) since called the Paradise of Fools; which though now unpeopled and untrod, in process of time became unknown to few.

(c) *Reliques*, or *relics*, Fr. Ital. Sp. Lat. *i. e.* remains or fragments of the bodies and clothes of saints, preserved by Roman catholics, with great veneration, viz. a finger, a toe, a tooth, a girdle, &c. and all worshipped by them.

(d) *Beads*; Teut. Sax. Dut. *i. e.* *prayers*, round balls, made of amber, wax, wood, glass, silver, gold, commonly of 15 tens, &c. which the Romanists count at prayers, by reckoning of which they know how often they have repeated their pater-noster, ave-mary, credo, &c. as they are enjoined by their priests, even in the streets and at work; like the old Pharisees, Turks, and hypocrites. The heathens of Malabar use beads made of the bark of trees, as powerful antedotes against Satan, sin, and dangers, which are prepared by an holy order of men only, called antigods; and the Turks use beads also to perfume themselves.

(e) *Indulgencies*; Fr. Ital. Sp. Port. Lat. *i. e.* bearing or coaxing with one; relaxations or liberties, granted by the popes, to dispense with some duties, or removing the infliction of some temporal punishment, due for sins past, or to come. Cardinal Bellarmin affirms, that indulgences are granted for 25,000 years; but they are sold at a very high price.

(f) *Dispenses*, or *Dispensations*; Fr. Ital. Lat. sufferings or permissions granted by the popes, to do things contrary to the laws of God or man, for so much ready money.

(g) *Bulls*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* *councils*: because formerly they were granted by the consent of a council of state; or from Lat. *i. e.* *ornaments*, hung about the necks of children, like a seal; briefs, licenses of popes, to which leaden or golden seals were affixed; and purchased at a set price from the pope's exchequer.

(h) *Limbo*; Ital. Sp. Lat. *i. e.* *the border of a garment*; Vul. *Limbus Patrum*. A place fancied by papists, bordering upon hell, where they say, the souls of all the patriarchs and other just men, from the beginning, were confined, till Christ at his passion descended thither, and set them at liberty.

CHAPTER IV.

Satan comes to the gates of heaven; his passage thence to the orb of the sun; where he finds Uriel the regent thereof, and upon inquiry is directed to the habitation of Man.

SATAN past on and wandered a great while, until at last a gleam of light caused him to direct his steps towards it; far distant he discovers a high structure, ascending by magnificent degrees up to the wall of heaven, at the top of which (but far more sumptuous) appeared what seemed to be a royal palace gate, with a front set off with gold and diamonds; the portal shone thick with sparkling jewels, impossible to be imitated upon earth, either in model or picture. The stairs were such as those were whereon Jacob (*i*) saw angels ascending and descending, bands of bright guardians, when he fled from Esau, (*k*) as far as Padan-Aram, (*l*)

(*i*) *Jacob*; Heb. *i. e. holding the heel*; or tripping up his brother's heels; because he laid hold of his brother's heel in the birth, as if he would deprive him of his birth-right at first, Gen. xxv. 26. A supplanter or deceiver, because he outwitted his brother Esau more than once, Gen. xxv. 27. 36. Hos. xii. 2. The second son of Isaac and Rebecca, and the father of the twelve patriarchs. He was born about A. M. 2130, and died in Egypt, 147 years of age. He was a grand master of astronomy, astrology, &c. and also a divine prophet.

(*k*) *Esau*; Heb. *i. e. wrought or perfected*; because he was more complete at his birth than other children, being covered all over with hair, as one that is old, and of a stronger constitution, Gen. xxv. 25.

(*l*) *Padan-Aram*, Heb. *i. e. a pair of rivers*, viz. the Euphrates and the Tygris. It is called *Padan* only, *i. e. a pair*: sometimes, *Aram*, *i. e. a river of Aramia or Syria*, sometimes *Naharajim*, *i. e. rivers*; and *Padan Aram*. By the Greeks, *Mesopotamia*, *i. e. in the middle of rivers*. By the Arabs, *Al-Gezira*, *i. e. The island*. By the Latins, *Interamnia*: because it lies

and the field of Luz, (*m*) as he by night lay dreaming under the open air, and waking from his sleep cried out, this is the gate of heaven: each stair was mysteriously meant, nor always stood there, but sometimes was drawn up to heaven out of sight; and underneath there flowed a bright sea of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon whoever came after from the earth, arrived sailing and wafted over by angels, or else flew over the lake, caught swiftly away, and drawn in a fiery chariot by fiery steeds, as Elijah the prophet was. At that time the stairs were let down, whether it were to dare Satan by the easiness of the ascent, or to make his exclusion from the gates of happiness more grievous; directly against which from beneath, just over the happy seat of Paradise, there opened a wide passage down to the earth (wider by far than that of after-times over mount Sion, or than that, though it was large) which was over the promised land so dear to God, by which his angels passed frequently to and fro to perform his great commands, to them whom he beheld with a choice regard, being those who inhabited as far as from Paneas, (*n*) said to be the fountain of the river

along the banks of two rivers: and by the modern *Arabians* *Diarbec* or *Diarbech*; *i. e.* the duke's country. To this country Jacob was sent by his mother, to avoid the revenge of his brother, and dwelt 21 years.

(*m*) *Luz*; Heb. Arab. *i. e.* a nut-tree, or rather the almond-tree: because many of those trees grew thereabout, an ancient city in Canaan. In memory of the glorious vision that Jacob had near to it, he called it *Bethel*, *i. e.* the house of God, which name it kept for many ages after.

(*n*) *Paneas*; Heb. from *Pane* and *im*, *i. e.* the mouth of the waters; because a vast flood of waters flow out of it. See Gen. xxxii. 30. And the source of the Nile, a fountain in Palestina, near the old town *Lais* or *Lishem*. Heb. *i. e.* a roaring lion, and the Panean cave; from which that country was called *Paneas*. It becomes a rapid river, running through a fat soil.

Jordan, (o) quite to Beersaba (p) where the holy land borders upon Egypt and the coast of Arabia, (q) so wide seemed the opening where bounds were set to

Pliny and other geographers of old thought it was the source of Jordan, but latter travellers have discovered the contrary; for that it is in mount Lebanon, four leagues above this. It is the outmost bounds of the promised land to the north, as Beershaba is to the south.

(o) *Jordan* or *Jarden*; Heb. compounded of *Jor. i. e. descending* or *rapid*; or from *Jarad*: Heb. *i. e. he descended*: because of its rapid current from the mountains. And *Dan*: because it ran by the old city, *Dan*, from *Dan* the Patriarch, *i. e. a judge*. These two fountains uniting there, make the river *Jordan*, so famous for many miracles; as the *Tame* and *Isis* or *Ouse* uniting their streams, a little below *Dorechester* in *Oxfordshire*, make the river *Thames*. It is the chief river of *Canaan*, rising at the foot of mount *Lebanon*, runs by the borders of it on the east, thence to the south in a course of fifty leagues, until it loseth itself in the dead sea. By the way it makes two lakes, 1st. The lake of *Semechon* or *Meron*, *i. e. a harp*, and bitter; because that lake represents a harp, and the waters are bitter; it is dry in the summer, *Josh. xi. 5.* 2dly. The lake of *Genesareth*, called the sea of *Galilee*, or the sea of *Tiberias*, *John vi. 1.* forty-four miles from *Jerusalem* northward, four miles broad and twelve miles long. *Jordan* overflows the banks in *March* and *April*, from the snow and rains that fall upon the mountains, *Josh. iii. 15.* now it is not above twenty yards at the broadest, and about three or four yards deep, unless when it overflows, which *Mr. Maundrel* could not observe, though he was there at the proper time, viz. in *March 30. A.D. 1697*, which he supposes to be either, because its channel is deeper than it was of old; or because the waters of it may be diverted some other way. It is covered all along with trees, which make a pleasant sight, but a dangerous and difficult coming at it.

(p) *Beersaba*, or *Beersheba*; Heb. *i. e. the well of the oath* or covenant: because there *Abraham* and *Abimelech* made an alliance upon oath, *Gen. xxi. 32.* A town situated upon the

(q) *Arabia*; Heb. *i. e. black, mixed, a robber*: because the inhabitants of it are such: rather from *Ereb*, Heb. *i. e. the west*: because it lies on the west of *Judea*. A large country in *Asia*,

darkness, such as are set to the waves of the ocean, that they can go no farther.

Satan now upon the lower stair, that leads up by steps of gold to the gates of heaven, looks down with wonder at the sudden view of all this world at once; just as when a scout has gone all night in danger through dark and desert ways, at last at the break of cheerful day climbs up to the top of some high hill, which unawares discovers to his sight the pleasant prospect of some foreign country he had never seen before, or some renowned metropolis, adorned with glittering towers and spires, which the rising sun gilds with his beams: such wonder seized the malignant spirit, though he had seen heaven, but envy seized him much more at sight of all this world, which he beheld so beautiful. Round he surveys (and well he might where he stood so high above the circling canopy of the extended shade of Night) from east to west, and then from north to south he views in breadth; and without any longer pause throws himself downright into the world's first region, and winds this way and that way through the clear air, among numberless stars, that at a distance shone like nothing but what they appear to us, but nigh hand they seemed other worlds,

utmost bounds of the holy land, forty miles from Jerusalem southward; and built upon that account. It belonged to the Edomites, then to the Simeonites. It was a great town in the days of St. Jerom. the Christians in the holy war, fortified it against the Turks and Arabs; since that time it belongeth to the Turks, and is much decayed. It is now called Gallim or Giblin.

between Egypt and Judea, the Red sea and the Persian gulf, divided into the Stony, the Desert, and Happy. It was first peopled by Joktan and his thirteen sons; by Ismael, founder of the Hagarens or Saracens; then by Esau, and from him came twelve grand princes, and as many nations.

or happy islands like those Hesperian (*r*) gardens, so famous of old, plentiful fields, pleasant groves, and flowery vales, thrice happy habitations; but who dwelt happy there, Satan stayed not to inquire. Above them all the golden sun, likest in splendor to heaven allured his eye; thither he bends his course through the calm firmament; but it is hard to tell his course thither, whether upwards or downwards, or in a direct line; where the great luminary, among the thick constellations, that keep due distance from him, dispenses light from afar: they as they move turn their swift and various motions, which compute days, months, and years, towards his all-cheering lamp; or else are turned by his attractive power that warms the universe gently, and with kind influence darts invisible virtue, even to the bottom of the ocean; so marvellously was he sat in his bright station: there landed Satan, a spot, like which perhaps no astronomer in the sun's shining orb, though helped by perspective glasses, ever saw: he found the place bright beyond all expression, compared with any thing on earth, either metal or stone; not all the parts alike, but all alike enlightened in all parts; as red hot iron is by fire; if metal, part of it seemed gold, and part clear silver; if stone, most carbuncle, (*s*) or chrysolite, (*t*) or ruby, (*u*) or topaz, (*x*) or the

(*r*) *Hesperian*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. western*. The famous gardens of Hesperus the brother of Atlas (said to be in the western islands of Cape Verd or the Canaries) which belong to Africa, and lie under the evening star (which the Greeks and Latins call Hesperus and Vesperus) wherein were golden apples, kept by a watchful dragon. The fable is taken from the garden of Eden, and the glorious fruits there.

(*s*) *Carbuncle*; Dut. Teut. Ital. Span. Lat. *i. e. a little burning coal*. A precious stone, resembling a burning coal in its lustre or colour. In Heb. *bareketh*, *i. e. lightning*. In Gr. *Smagragdos*, *i. e. light*. It was the third of the first row of precious stones in Aaron's breast-plate, whereon the name of Levi was

twelve that shone in the breast-plate of Aaron (*y*) or that, seen rather in imagination than elsewhere, alchemists have so long been in vain search after, though by their powerful art they bind quicksilver, and change matter into all manner of forms: what wonder then if the fields and regions here breathe forth pure elixir, and rivers run with liquid gold; when with one powerful touch the sun, though so far remote from us, and

engraved, to shew that divine knowledge should shine in the priests of the Lord, to illuminate the church, Exod. xxviii. 17. Mat. v. 14. 16. It is an ancient but a vulgar error, to say, a carbuncle gives light in the dark.

(*t*) *Chrysolite*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a *golden stone*: because it shines like gold. It is the first of the fourth row, on which Asher was cut. It is of a sea-green colour, which shewed that his habitation should be near the sea, Exod. xxviii. 20. Josh. xix. 24. Rev. xxi. 20.

(*u*) *Ruby*; Lat. *i. e.* *red*: a precious stone of a glorious red colour, as red as blood. In Heb. Achlama, from which the Greeks call it amethyst, *i. e.* not to inebriate; for it is reported to be an antidote to drunkenness. It is found in the East Indies, the Stony Arabia, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, &c. It was the last of the third row, whereon Gad was inscribed; to teach him watchfulness and temperance; and was also a sign of his victories, which were predicted, Gen. xlix. 19. Exod. xxviii. 19. and fulfilled 1 Chron. v. 18, 19.

(*x*) *Topaz*; Heb. from which the Greeks formed *topazion*, *i. e.* *golden*. A stone of a golden and green colour, found in Ethiopia, Job. xxix. 19. And in the island Topazium, which lies in the Arabian gulf. It was the 2nd of the first row whereon the name of Simeon was engraven, Exod. xxviii. 17. Rev. xxi. 20.

(*y*) *Aaron*; Heb. *i. e.* a *mountain*. This name was given him by inspiration, predicting his high advancement and dignity, and his death upon mount Hor, Heb. *i. e.* a *mountain*. The eldest son of Amram, older than Moses by three years, yet named last; born in Egypt, about A.M. 2460. The first high-priest of the Jews by divine election. He died A.M. 2583, in the 123d year of his age, before Jesus Christ 1448, in the land of Edom. Justin through a gross mistake calls him Arvas and the son of Moses.

mixed with earthly matter, here in the dark produces so many precious things, of colour so glorious, and of so rare effect? Here the devil met new matter to gaze at, nor was he dazzled by so much light; his eye commands far and wide, for here was no shade or obstacle to sight, for all was sunshine, as at noon; so now the sunbeams shoot upward, still direct, whence no way round can fall any shadow from dark bodies, and the air sharpened the eyes of Satan, to objects far distant, whereby he soon discovered within sight a glorious angel stand within, the same whom St. John (z) saw also in the sun; his back was turned, but his brightness was not hid; a golden crown of the beams of the sun's rays encircled his head, nor less bright were his locks that hung behind waving on his shoulders, which were covered with wings; he seemed employed on some great and important affair, or fixed in very deep contemplation.

The impure spirit was glad of this, as being now in hope to find one who might direct his wandering flight to Paradise, the happy seat of Man, the proposed end of his journey, and the beginning of our woe: but first he considers how he might change his shape, which else might bring him into danger, or be the cause of delay; and now he appears like a youthful cherub, not

(z) St. John; Heb. *Jehochanan*; i. e. *gracious*. A proper name of men among the Jews, mentioned 1 Chron. xii. 12. Jer. xli. 11. John the Baptist, John the Apostle, John Mark, &c. Here the Apostle and author of the book of the Revelations, who saw an angel in the sun. "And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God. That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men both free and bond, both small and great."

one of the chief, yet such as youth smiled heavenly in his face, and to every limb diffused suitable grace; so well did he contrive to feign: under a coronet his flowing hair played upon either cheek in curls; he wore wings of many party-coloured feathers sprinkled with gold; his habit was girt about him, as fit for travel, and he held in his hand, to help his steps, a silver wand. Satan did not draw nigh without being heard; the bright angel in the sun, admonished by his ear of his approach, turned his radiant visage, and immediately was known by him, to be the archangel Uriel, (a) one of the seven who stand in the presence of God, nearest to his throne, ready at command, and are as his eyes that run through all the heavens, or bear his swift errands down to the earth, over sea and land; to him Satan approaches, and thus addresses himself:

Uriel! for thou art wont to be the first of those seven spirits, that stand in the sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright, to bring his great authentic will through the highest heaven, and to be the interpreter of it; where all the other angels attend to hear thy embassy, and here art likeliest by supreme degree to obtain like honour, and as his eye give frequent visitation to this new created world: an unspeakable desire to see and know all these his wonderful works, but chiefly Man, whom he delights in and favours so much, and for whom he hath ordained all these, hath brought me thus wandering alone from the choirs of cherubim:

(a) *Uriel*; Heb. *i. e. the light of God*. Milton from the sense of his name very properly imagines this angel to be the president of the sun: for the ancients thought that all the superior orbs were governed by some divine intelligence, which moved them to worship those orbs. One of the seven archangels of the presence; which seems to be taken from Zech. iv. 10. &c. not from Tobit xii. 15. for that number mentioned there is an apocryphal story. However, this name is not found in holy scripture, but in the Apocrypha, 2 Esdras, ch. iv. 1. 36.

Tell me, brightest seraph, in which of all these shining orbs hath Man his fixed seat? (or has he his choice to dwell in which may please him best?) that I may find him out, gaze on him in secret, or openly admire, that I may behold him on whom the great Creator hath bestowed worlds, and on whom he hath poured all these graces; that in him and all things else, as is but meet, we may praise the universal Maker, who justly hath driven out to deepest hell his rebellious foes; and to repair their loss, created this new happy race of men, to serve him better: wisdom is in all his ways.

So spoke the false deceiver, without being perceived; for neither Man nor angel can discover hypocrisy, which is the only evil that walks invisible through heaven and earth, except to God alone, left so by his permissive will; and oftentimes though wisdom keeps awake, suspicion sleeps, and while goodness thinks no ill, where no ill seems to be, to simplicity gives up the charge: so hypocrisy now for once beguiled Uriel, though he was regent of the sun, and esteemed to be the sharpest sighted spirit in all heaven; who to the foul and fraudulent impostor, according to the uprightness of his own heart, thus returned answer:

Fair angel! thy desire, which tends to the knowledge of the works of God, thereby to glorify the great Work-Master, does not lead to any excess that deserves blame, but the more it seems excess, rather merits praise, that led thee hither from thy heavenly mansion thus alone, to witness with thine own eyes, what many perhaps have only heard in heaven, contented with a report; for full of wonder indeed all his works are, pleasant to know, and always worthiest to be all had in remembrance with delight. But what created mind can comprehend their number, or the infinite wisdom that brought them forth, but hid their

causes in a depth not to be fathomed? I saw when the formless mass, the material mould of this world, came to a heap at his word; Confusion heard his voice, and wild Uproar stood ruled, and what had been thought vast infinitude became confined; after which at his second bidding the darkness fled, light shone, and order sprung from disorder; the elements hasted swift to their several quarters; fire, water, earth, and air, and the purest æther flew upward, spirited with various forms, which in their motion became orbicular, and turned to numberless stars, as thou seest, and how they move; each had its course and place appointed, and the rest surround and encompass this universe. Look downward upon that globe, whose hither side shines from hence, though but with reflected light; that place is the earth, and the seat of Man; that light is his day, which were it not for that, Night (as she does the other hemisphere) would cover; but there the neighbouring moon (call that opposite fair star so) timely interposes her aid, her monthly round still ending and still renewing, through the midst of heaven; with borrowed light she fills her increasing and decreasing face to enlighten the earth, and checks the night in her pale dominion. That spot to which I point now is Paradise, the abode of Adam; those lofty shades are his bower; the way thither thou canst not miss, that which requires me lies quite contrary.

When he had said this, he turned; and Satan bowing low (as is usual to superior spirits in heaven. where none neglects due honour and reverence) took leave, and toward the coast of earth, down from the (*b*) eclip-

(*b*) *Ecliptic of eclipse*; Lat. Gr. a defect of light. An astron. term, a great wide circle in the heavens, extending between the two tropics, cross the equator; wherein the sun moves through the twelve signs of the zodiac in his yearly course; and there the eclipses do happen.

tic hastened with the hopes of success, throws himself down in steep flight, wheeling swiftly through the air; nor did he make the least stop, until he lighted upon the mountain Niphates. (c)

(c) *Niphates*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. snowy*; because it is generally covered with snow. It is a very high mountain, part of mount Taurus, between Armenia and Mesopotamia, not far from Paradise, and the source of Euphrates and Tygris.

THE FOURTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

SATAN, now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and situation is described. Satan overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as the highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse; from thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation, by seducing them to transgress; then leaves them for some time to know further of their state by some other means. In the interim Uriel descending on a sunbeam warns Gabriel (who had in charge the gate of Paradise) that some evil spirit had escaped the deep, and past at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good angel down to Paradise, disco-

vered afterwards by his furious gestures in the mount: Gabriel promises to find him out ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel drawing forth his bands of night watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong angels to Adam's bower, lest the evil spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam and Eve, sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hindered by a sign from heaven, flies out of Paradise.

CHAPTER I.

Satan, in prospect of Eden, falls into many doubts with himself, yet journeys on to Paradise, which is described.

NEVER was there more need than now for that warning voice, which Saint John heard cry aloud in heaven, when the dragon, put a second time to rout, came furiously down to be revenged on men, woe to the inhabitants on earth! that now while time was, our first parents had been given notice of the coming of their secret enemy, and so perchance have escaped his mortal snare: for Satan now inflamed with rage came (the tempter before he was the accuser of mankind) to revenge on frail innocent Man his loss of that first battle, and his flight to hell. His courage now began a little to fail him, though afar off he was bold and fearless; nor had he cause to boast the fatal attempt, the execution of which being near its birth, raises dark thoughts in him, rolls and boils in his tumultuous breast, and like a devilish engine recoils back upon himself; horror and doubt distract his troubled mind, and from the bottom stir the hell within him, for within him he brings hell, and round about him; nor can fly one step from hell by change of place, no more than he can fly from himself: now conscience wakes despair that slumbered, wakes the bitter remembrance of what he was, consideration of what he is, and what must be worse; for of worse deeds worse sufferings must be the consequence. Sometimes he fixes his grieved look towards Eden, which now lay pleasant in his view, and some-

times towards heaven and the full blazing sun, which was just now arrived to its meridian height; then revolving much within himself, he thus began sighing.

Oh thou! that crowned with surpassing glory, lookest from thy sole dominion, like the God of this new world; at the sight of whom all the stars hide their diminished heads; to thee! I call, but with no friendly voice, and add thy name, O sun! to tell thee how much I hate thy beams, that bring to my remembrance from what state I fell: how glorious once did I sit, far above thy sphere! until pride and worse ambition was the cause of my being thrown down, for waging war in heaven against its matchless King. Ah wherefore did I so! he deserved from me no such return, whom he created what I was in that bright eminence: he upbraided none with the good gifts he gave; nor was it any hardship to serve him: What could there be less than to afford him praise (which is the easiest recompense) and pay him thanks? How justly was all this due! yet all his good proved ill in me, and worked nothing but malice: for being lifted up so high I disdained subjection, and thought that one step higher would set me highest of all, and so in a moment quit me of the immense debt of endless gratitude; so burthensome it is always to be paying, and still to owe; forgetful that from him I was still receiving; and did not consider, that a grateful mind by acknowledging the benefit, owes not, but so pays, at the same time indebted and discharged: where was the hardships then? O had his powerful destiny ordained and made me some inferior angel! then I had stood happy; no unlimited hope had raised ambition in me! and yet why not? Some other power as great as I might have aspired, and drawn me, though a spirit of meaner rank, to his party: but other powers as great did not fall, but stand now unshaken, armed against all temptation,

either from without or within. Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand as they? 'Thou hadst! whom hast thou then to accuse? or what? but heaven's free love equally dealt to all? Accursed be his love then! since be it love or hate, it alike deals out to me eternal misery: nay, let me be accursed! since I chose freely against his will what I now so justly repent. Miserable wretch that I am! which way shall I fly from infinite wrath, and from infinite despair? Which ever way I fly is hell; I myself am hell, and in the lowest depth; a lower deep opens wide, always threatening to devour me, to which the present hell I suffer seems to be a heaven. O then relent at last! Is there no place left for repentance! Is there none left for pardon? No there is none left, but by submission; and that disdain forbids me, and the fear that I have of shame among the spirits beneath, whom I seduced with far different promises and other vaunts than submission, boasting, that I could overcome the Omnipotent. Ah me! little do they know how severely I suffer for that vain boast; under what torments I groan inwardly, while they adore me, high advanced on the throne of hell, and distinguished with sceptre and diadem: (a) so much the lower still I fall, only supreme in misery; such joys does ambition find! But say that I could repent, and could by an act of grace retain my former state; how soon would height recall high thoughts? and how soon unsay what feigned submis-

(a) *Diadem*; Fr. Ital. Sp. Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* binding about. What the Syrians call *Mitra*, the Greeks named *Diadema*, and the Latins *Vitta*, says Scaliger. A white fillet or scarf, like the Turkish turban; wherewith the ancient princes of Persia, and the priests also, tied a crown about their heads: a king's crown. Alexander the Great brought the use of it first into Europe, as Justin reports. Cæsar and Caligula refused it; but Aurelian was the first Roman emperor that wore a diadem.

sion had sworn! Ease would recant vows that were made in pain, as violent and void; (for never can there grow a true reconciliation, where wounds of so deadly hate have pierced so deep) which would but lead me on to a worse relapse, and a fall still heavier; by which means I should dearly purchase a short intermission of my present torments, bought at the price of double smart. My punisher knows this, and therefore is as far from granting peace, as I am from begging it. All hope thus excluded, instead of us, now outcast and exiled, behold his new delight, mankind created, and this world for him: so farewell hope! and with hope farewell also fear! farewell remorse! all good is lost to me; evil be thou henceforth my good! by thee at least I hold a divided empire with the King of heaven, and by thy means perhaps will reign more than half; as Man, before it is long, and this new world shall know.

While he was thus speaking, the passions that moved him, dimmed his face, and he changed countenance thrice and grew pale, with anger, envy, and despair, which altered his borrowed visage and betrayed him to be a counterfeit, if any eye beheld him; (for heavenly minds are always clear from such distempers) whereof he being soon aware, with an outward calm smoothed each perturbation, contriver of fraud! and was the first that practised falshood under a faintly outside, to conceal deep malice with thoughts of deep revenge: yet had he not practised enough to deceive Uriel, whose eye pursued him down the way he went, and saw him on the mountain Niphates, disfigured more than could befall spirits of happy kind: he marked his fierce gestures and mad demeanor, supposing himself to be then all alone, unobserved and unseen. So on Satan journeys, and comes to the border of Eden, where delicious Paradise crowns the campaign head of a steep wilderness with her green enclosure, which makes a rural fence;

whose shrubby sides overgrown with thickets, wild and grotesque, denied all manner of access, and over head grew an unsurmountable height of loftiest cedars, (b) pines, firs, and wide-spreading palm, (c) and as the ranks ascend shade above shade, many a pleasant Sylvan scene, a woody theatre, stately to the view: yet higher than their tops, the green enclosure and banks of Paradise sprung up; which gave to Adam a large prospect into his lower empire, neighbouring round the mount of Paradise: and higher than that wall appeared a circling row of beautiful trees, loaden at once with blossoms and fairest fruit of golden hue, mixed with gay enamelled colours, on which the sun had left

(b) *Cedar*; Fr. Lat. from the Gr. a very large, thick, and tall tree, with small and slender leaves. It is always green, never decays, and is detestable to worms; because of its bitter sap; the ancients anointed their books with it, to keep them from being worm-eaten; my lord Bacon thinks the wood of it lasts 1000 years sound. It grows chiefly on M. Lebanon, and in the woods of America, was much in esteem of old, and highly celebrated in scripture, but now is very much decreased.

(c) *Palm*; Fr. Brit. Teut. Ital. Sp. Dut. Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. the hand expanded*; because its leaves resemble the palm of a man's hand. The palm or date tree. It was used of old as a sign of victory, and victory itself: because the more it is oppressed, the more it riseth and spreadeth. The palm was used in the service of God. "And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and the willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days." And is said to be worn in Paradise itself, Rev. vii. 9. "After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands." It was also the sign and reward of victory in all the Grecian games. The ancients honoured victorious princes with spreading of palms and flowers before them in their triumphs. The Jews received Alexander the Great, and our Redeemer, and they of Cremona, Vitellius, in this fashion.

the beauty of his beams, more strongly painted than he does on a fair evening cloud, or on the rainbow, when God hath sent rain upon the earth; so lovely did that landscape seem: and now purer air still meets Satan's approach, which to the heart inspires vernal delight and joy, able to chase away all sadness except despair: now gentle gales disperse natural perfumes, sweets which they fan from flowers, and betray from whence they stole them: as when to them who sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and are got past Mozambique, (*d*) north-east winds blow Sabean (*e*) odours off at sea, from the spicy shore of Arabia Felix, well pleased with such delay they slacken their course, and the ocean seems to smile, cheered with the grateful smell; so Satan entertained these rich perfumes, who came to be their bane, though better pleased with them than Asmodeus (*f*) was with the smoke of the burnt fish, that drove him (though he was so much enamoured that he destroyed seven of her husbands) from the wife of Tobias, and sent him from Media (*g*) into the utmost parts of Egypt, where the angel Raphael bound him fast.

(*d*) *Mozambic*, *Mezambica*, and the French call it *Mozambique*. Ethiop. A little island with a chief city built upon a river of the same name, upon the east coast of Africa, belonging to Zanguebar, 270 miles from Madagasear to the west. It is barren and unhealthful, but populous: because of the great trade with the Portuguese, who possess it now.

(*e*) *Sabean*, of *Saba*; from *Seba* or *Saba*, the son of Chus, the sixth son of Cham, Gen. x. 7. Saba is the chief city of Arabia the Happy, now Zibit, where there is a great store of cinnamon, cassia, frankincense, myrrh, and other sweet spices.

(*f*) *Asmodeus*; Heb. *i. e.* a destroyer or fire. A prince of devils amongst the rabbies. An evil spirit, who is said to have haunted the house of Raguel; to be in love with his daughter Sarah, and to have destroyed seven husbands in the first night of their marriage, Tob. iii. 8. 17.

(*g*) *Media*; Heb. from *Madai* the son of Japhet, Gen. x. 2. *i. e.* a measure: because he was of a large stature. A large

CHAPTER II.

Paradise described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve, at which he is greatly surprised; overhears their discourse, and from thence meditates their destruction.

Now Satan had journeyed on, pensive and slow, to the ascent of that steep and inaccessible hill, but found no further way; the undergrowth of shrubs and tangling bushes had twisted themselves so into one cluster, that they denied a path to whatever might assay to pass that way: there was only one gate, and that looked east on the other side, which when Satan saw, he disdained to enter properly, and in contempt, at once leaped over all bounds, of hill or highest wall, and quite within, lights on his feet: as when a prowling wolf, driven by hunger to seek new haunts for his prey, watching where the shepherds pen their flocks in the sheep-cotes at evening, leaps over the fence amidst the field, and gets securely and with ease into the fold; or as a thief with an intention to rob some rich merchant (whose substantial doors, cross-barred and bolted fast, cannot be broke open) climbs in at the window, or at the top of the house: so did this first great thief climb into God's fold; (so do since lewd hirelings climb into his church) from thence he flew up, and upon the middle tree in Paradise (which was the tree of life, and the highest that grew there) sat like a cormorant; yet did not thereby regain true life,

country and ancient kingdom in Asia, on the north of Persia, near Georgia, and upon the Caspian sea, having Armenia and Assyria on the west. It was once mistress of the eastern monarchy of the Medes, for 317 years, but soon fell into the Persians; then became subject to the Turks. Now Servan or Shirvan.

but instead of that sat devising death to them who lived; nor did he think of the virtue of that life-giving plant, but only used to take a view of Paradise, what well used had been the pledge of immortality. (So little does any but God alone know to set a right value on the things before him, but either perverts the best things to the worst of abuses, or else to their meanest use) with new wonder now he views beneath him Nature's whole wealth, exposed in narrow room to all the delight of human sense; nay it was more; it was a heaven on earth; for the garden was the happy Paradise of God, by him planted in the east of Eden; Eden was stretched out from Auran (*h*) eastward, to the royal towers of great Seleucia, (*i*) built by the kings of Greece; or where the sons of Eden dwelt in (*k*) Telas-

(*h*) *Auran, Haron, or Charan*; Heb. *i. e. wrath*. The chief city of Mesopotamia, whither Abraham fled from the wrath of God: because of the idolatry of the Chaldeans, and also dwelt for a time, Gen. xi. 31. Acts vii. 4. Jacob went to it afterwards for fear of Esau's wrath, Gen. xxix. which giveth name to a large country upon the river Tygris. It is also called Aram and Aramia; from Aram the son of Sem, *i. e. mighty*; and is what we call Syria. This city is 440 miles northward from Jerusalem; now called Ophea. It is eleven days journey from Nineve; populous, and hath a good trade.

(*i*) *Selucia*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. a glaring light*. Another famous city of Mesopotamia, called also Calne in the land of Shinaz, Gen. x. 10. Coche, then Alexandria; because it was rebuilt by Alexander the Great; afterwards repaired by Antiochus king of Syria, who called it Seleucia in memory of his father Seleucus, Gr. *i. e. glorious*. It is forty miles from old Babylon upon the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tygris; the Turks possess it now, and call it Bachda or Bagdad.

(*k*) *Telessar, and Elassar*; Heb. *i. e. a fort or rampart of the Assyrians*. A country upon the borders of Assyria, wherein the Edenites were garrisoned to guard Babylon, from the encroachments of the Assyrians, Isa. xxxvii. 12. Ezek. xxiii. 23. Between these places the true Eden and Paradise were situated. Vid. Huet. de Situ Paradisi.

sar. In this pleasant soil had God ordained his far more pleasant garden, and to grow out of the fertile ground all trees of the noblest kind, whether for sight, smell or taste; and exactly in the middle stood the tree of life highly eminent, bearing ambrosial fruit, and blossoms of vegetable gold; and next to the tree of life grew our death, the tree of knowledge; the knowledge of good, bought too dear through the knowledge of ill! Through Eden southward there went a large river, which never changed its course, but underneath the shaggy hill being ingulfed passed through; for God had thrown that mountain as his garden fence, high raised upon the rapid current, which through veins of the porous earth drawn up with a kindly thirst, rose a fresh fountain, and watered the garden with many a stream; thence united fell down the sloped shade, and met the lower flood, which now appears from his darksome passage, and now being divided into four main streams runs different ways, wandering through many a famous realm and country, whereof there needs no account here; but rather to tell how (if art could tell how) from that sapphire fountain the curled brooks rolling over bright pearls and sands of gold, ran nectar with many a winding course under the spreading shades, visiting each plant and feeding the flowers of Paradise, which bountiful nature and not nice art had poured forth profusely, in beds and curious knots in hill, dale, and plain, both where the morning sun first smote warmly the open field, and where the unpierced shade held the bowers in pleasing darkness, even at noon.

Thus this place was a happy rural seat, with variety of prospect and groves, some of whose rich trees dropped balm and sweet gums; others, whose fruit hung delightfully, streaked as it were with burnished gold,

and of delicious taste; what was fabled of the Hesperian fruit true only here: betwixt these groves were lawns, or level downs, among which were dispersed flocks, grazing upon the tender grass; or hills of palm, or else the flowery edge of some well watered valley spread its store; flowers of every hue, and roses without thorns. Another side shady grottos, and caves of cool recess, over which the spreading vine laid forth her purple grapes, and gently crept with her increasing and wanton branches; mean while the murmuring waters fall dispersed down the slope hills, or else unite their streams in a lake, that as it were holds a mirror to the bank grown over with sweet myrtle. The birds apply their choir with vernal airs, which breathing the smell of the fields and groves, make music in the trembling leaves, while nature, attended by the seasons and the hours, led on a continual spring: not that fair field of Enna, (*l*) where Proserpine (*m*) gathering flowers was ravished by Pluto, which caused Ceres all that pain to seek her through the world; nor that sweet

(*l*) *Enna*; *Chal. Phœn. i. e. a garden and fountain.* Enna is the same as Eden, in the language of the Phœnicians; which they borrowed from Moses, Gen. ii. 8. A most pleasant field in the heart of Sicily, abounding with springs, fruits and flowers. There was a city, a temple of Ceres, and a fine grove: and out of it Pluto stole and carried off Proserpine into hell.

(*m*) *Proserpine*; *Lat. i. e. creeping out.* The daughter of Jupiter and Ceres, ravished by Pluto. Her mother Ceres went to hell to get her released; but because she had tasted a pomegranate in Pluto's orchard, Jupiter could do no more, than give her leave to accompany her six months above; and Pluto six other months below. Of the rape of Proserpina, see Pindar. Ode 1. This fable hath nothing else in it, than that the corn, fruits, &c. lie six months in the ground, then creep out of it, and flourish six months above it; and Ceres was an inventress or improveress of husbandry, &c. The poets make her the queen of hell.

grove of Daphne, by the river Orontes, (*n*) and the inspired spring of Castalia (*o*) might by any means be compared to this Paradise of Eden; nor that island of Nysa, (*p*) surrounded by the river Triton, (*q*) where Cham, (*r*) the youngest son of Noah (whom the Gentiles call Ammon (*s*) and Lybian Jove) hid (*t*) Amal-

(*n*) *Orontes*; Gr. Lat. *i. e.* *rapid*. The largest river in Syria, rising on M. Lebanon, washing many cities in its course; it runs by and through Antioch into the Mediterranean sea.

(*o*) *Castalia*; Arab. *i. e.* *a purling stream*. A fine spring at the root of Parnassus, sacred to the muses: because the pleasant sound of it gliding down that hill, elevated the imagination. Here is another of this name by the grove of Daphne at Antioch, which foretold Hadrian's advancement to the empire.

(*p*) *Nysa*; Heb. *i. e.* *a banner or refuge*. A city of Arabia, within the isle of Nysa, upon the river Triton, where Bacchus was nursed, as they report. This fable took its original from that history related in Exod. xvii. 15. where Moses built an altar to Jehovah Nissi, Heb. *i. e.* *the Lord is my banner*, upon the victory over Amalek: for Bacchus is Moses among the heathens. Hence Bacchus was called also Dionysius, *i. e.* God of Nysa, or the Nysa of Bacchus.

(*q*) *Triton*; Arab. *i. e.* *a pasture*. A river in Africa, which issues out of the lake Triton in the Mediterranean sea, over against the Lesser Syrtis, and divides Lybia into two equal parts. Now Rio de Capo.

(*r*) *Cham*, or *Ham*; Heb. *i. e.* *heat or blackness*; the third and youngest son of Noah, Gen. ix. 24. and Jupiter among the Gentiles. In the first division of the earth, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and all Africa fell to his share.

(*s*) *Ammon*; or *Hammon*; Heb. *i. e.* *heat*. Another name of Cham, whom the old Egyptians and Grecians worshipped under this denomination. His temple and famous oracle stood in Cyrene on the west side of Egypt and the deserts of Lybia.

(*t*) *Amalthea*; Chald. *i. e.* *a nurse*; Gr. *i. e.* *very rich or multiplying*; daughter of Melissus king of Crete, a mistress and nurse of Jupiter, who fed him with goat's milk and honey; and mother of Bacchus. Jupiter gave her a horn of plenty, which supplied every thing.

thea and her youthful son Bacchus, (*u*) from her step-mother Rhea; nor could the mountain Amara (*x*) be compared to Paradise, where the kings of Abassinia (*y*) guard their children (though by some supposed to be the very place) under the equinoctial line, and by the head of Nile, encompassed with shining rocks, a whole day's journey high; but in reality far remote from this Assyrian garden, where Satan without any pleasure beheld all delight, all kind of living creatures strange to him, and quite new to his sight.

Two of shape far more noble than the rest, upright and tall, erect like gods, clothed with native honour and in naked majesty, seemed lords of all, and seemed

(*u*) *Bacchus*; Heb. *Barchus*, *i. e.* the son of Chus. The natural son of Jupiter by Amalthea (others say) by Semele, which may be the same woman, by a different name. He first planted vines and made wine: therefore he was esteemed the god of wine.

(*x*) *Amara*, or *Amhara*, Heb. and Ethiopic; for the latter has a near resemblance to the former language; for example, Abinn in the Heb. is our father; Abana in the Ethiopic is the same; so they call their archbishop. Amara is a province under the equinoctial, and one of the kingdoms of Abyssinia, or Upper Ethiopia, almost in the middle of it, on the south. There is a mountain of the same name, about 90 miles in compass, a days journey high, and encompassed with rocks, with only one entrance to it. On the top are many beautiful palaces, wherein the emperor's children are educated, and the younger sons kept until they die, that they may not disturb the government.

(*y*) *Abassinia*: from *Abasseni*; Arab. a scattered people; an ancient people of Arabia, near Sabæa, of the posterity of Joktan, who settled afterwards in Ethiopia Superior; and there erected a vast empire of 26 or 30 distinct kingdoms. The Portuguese discovered this empire to the Europeans, A.D. 1500. And the Dutch call it the country of Prester John, from Unchan Jahannan, one of the emperors of it, about A.D. 1200. The Upper Ethiopia upon the Red sea and the Persian ocean, on the east side of Africa. The inhabitants are all black, and for the most part Christians.

worthy to be so; for in their divine looks shone the image of their glorious Maker, truth, wisdom, and sanctitude, pure and severe (severe, but placed in true filial freedom) whence comes true authority in men; though they did not seem equal, as their sex was not alike: he was formed for valour and contemplation, she for softness and sweet attracting grace; he only for God, but she for God and him: his fair large forehead and elevated eye declared absolute rule, and his brown hair, round from his parted forehead hung, curling, but not beneath his broad shoulders: she wore her unadorned fair hair, loose as a veil, down to her slender waist, but waved in wanton ringlets as the vine curls its tendrils, which implied subjection, but required with gentle government, and by him best received when yielded by her with coy submission, a modest pride, and a sweet, reluctant, yet amorous delay: nor were those mysterious parts hid which men now conceal; then was not guilty and dishonest shame of nature's works (the name of honour! but dishonourable) bred from sin, how has it troubled all mankind with mere shews of seeming pure, instead of being so? and banished from Man the greatest happiness of his life, his native simplicity and spotless innocence! So they passed on naked, nor strove to shun the sight of God or the angels, for they thought no evil: hand in hand they passed along, lovelier than any pair that ever since met in the embraces of love; Adam more excellent in form than any of his sons since born, and Eve fairer than any of her daughters.

Under the shade of a bower that stood on a green, the trees whispering softly, by a fresh fountain's side, they sat them down, and after no more toil of their sweet gardening labour, than served to recommend the cool air and make ease more pleasant, and wholesome thirst and appetite more grateful, they began to eat of

the fruits of the garden for supper, delicious fruits, which the loaded boughs yielded them; as they sat leaning along the side of the soft downy bank, sprinkled with flowers, they chewed the savory pulp, and then in the rind, as often as they were thirsty, scooped up the brimming stream; nor was there wanting endearing smiles, gentle purpose, nor youthful dalliance, as beseems a fair couple bound in the happy nuptial league, and alone as they were. About them all the beasts of the earth played wantonly (though since that grown wild) beasts of all chace, in wood or wilderness, den or forest; the lion sporting about ramped up, and in his paw, dandled the kid; bears, tygers, ounces, and leopards, played before them; the unwieldy elephant used all his might to make them mirth, and twisted about his limber trunk; the sly, close, insinuating serpent, twisted his train in many a fold, and unobserved gave proof of his fatal subtlety; others of the beasts couched upon the grass, and now filled with pasture, sat gazing or lying down, and chewing the cud: for the sun was declined, and hastening with swift career to the ocean islands, and on the other side of heaven the stars that introduced the evening arose; when Satan, who all this while stood gazing as at first, at length scarcely recovered power of speech as follows:

Oh hell! what do my eyes with sorrow and grief behold! Creatures of another mould advanced into our room of bliss; perhaps earth-born, and not spirits, yet to bright heavenly spirits little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue with wonder, and whom I could love, so lively the divine resemblance shines in them, and such grace the hand that made them hath bestowed upon their form. Ah gentle pair! little do you think how near your change approaches when all these delights will vanish, and deliver you up to misery; more misery by as much as now your taste of joy is more;

now happy, but that happiness too ill secured to continue long, and this high seat, your heaven, too ill defended, to keep out such a foe as is entered now; yet no proposed foe to you, whom I could pity thus unguarded, though I myself am unpitied. I seek a league with you and mutual amity, so close and strait, that henceforward I must dwell with you, or else you with me: perhaps my dwelling place may not delight your senses, like this fair Paradise, yet such as it is accept it; your Maker's work; he gave it me, and I as freely give it: to entertain you two, hell shall unfold her gates the widest, and send forth all her kings: there (not like these narrow limits) will be room to receive your numerous offspring: if it is no better place thank him who puts me unwilling to take this revenge on you who wrong me not, instead of him who wrongs me. And should I (as indeed I do) melt to pity at your harmless innocence; yet public reason, just honour, and revenge, and empire, by conquering this new world, compel me now to do, what else (notwithstanding I am damned) I should abhor.

Thus spoke the fiend, and with the tyrant's plea, necessity, excused his devilish deeds. Then from his lofty stand upon the tree of life, he lights down among the sporting herds of those four-footed beasts, turning himself into the form sometimes of one and sometimes of another, as their shapes served his end best, to view his prey nearer, and unobserved to mark what by words or actions he might learn further of their state: now he stalks round about them like a lion, with a fierce glare; then as a tyger, who by chance hath spied two gentle fawns at play in some purlieu, strait couches down close, then rising, changes his cunning watch as one who was choosing his ground, from whence rushing out, he might surest seize them both, griped in each paw; when Adam, the first of all men, turning himself to

Eve, the first of women, began this moving speech, which turned Satan all to attention:

Sole partner, and dearest of all these joys; dearer than all! that power that made us, and for our use and comfort all this great world, must needs be infinitely good, and of his good be as liberal and free as he is infinite; that raised us from the dust, and then placed us here in all this happiness, who have merited nothing from him, nor are able to perform any thing of which he hath any need; who requires no other service from us, than to keep this one easy charge, that of all the trees in Paradise, which bears such various and delicious fruit, we are only forbid to taste that tree of knowledge, which is planted by the tree of life, so near is death placed to life; whatever death be; no doubt some very dreadful thing; for thou knowest well God hath pronounced it death to taste of that tree: among so many signs of power and rule he has conferred upon us, and dominion which he hath given us over all other creatures that live on earth, in sea, or in the air, this is the only sign left of our obedience: then do not let us think one easy prohibition hard, who enjoy so large and free a liberty in all things else, and have an unlimited choice of manifold delights; but let us praise him for ever, and extol his bounty, following our pleasurable task to prune these growing plants, and tend upon these flowers; which if of itself were toilsome, yet with thee would seem sweet and pleasant.

To whom Eve replied thus; Oh thou! from whom and for whom I was formed, flesh of my flesh, and without whom my being would be to no purpose, my guide and head! what thou hast said is just and right, for we indeed owe all praises and daily thanks to him; but I chiefly, who enjoy so much the happier lot by enjoying thee, who art more noble and excellent by so much odds; whilst thou canst find no where any thing

that is equal to thyself. I often remember that day when I first waked from sleep, and laid down under a shade upon flowers, wondering much where I was and what I was, from whence, and how I was brought thither: not a great way from thence a sound of murmuring waters flowed forth from a cave, and spread into a liquid plain, which then stood unmoved and clear as the sky; I went thither with unexperienced thought, and laid me down upon the green bank, to look into the smooth and pure lake, that seemed to me to be another sky: as I bent myself down to look, just opposite appeared a shape in the water, bending to look upon me; I started back, and that started back also; but I being pleased soon returned, and that as soon returned, and as pleased, with answering looks of sympathy and love: there until now had I fixed my eyes, and pined away with vain desire, had not a voice thus warned me. "Fair creature, what thou there seest is nothing but thyself, it came with thee, and with thee it goes away; but follow me, and I will bring thee where something more than a shadow waits for thy coming, and for thy soft embraces; it is he whose image thou art, thou shalt enjoy him inseparably, to him shalt bear multitudes of creatures like thyself, and thence shalt be called the mother of human kind." What could I do else but immediately follow, being led thus invisibly, until I saw thee under a platan? (z) Fair indeed and tall, and yet methought less fair, less winning and soft, and less ami-

(z) *Platan* (in the lat. edit. *Plantan*, which is wrong) Gr. *i. e.* broad; because the leaves of it are very broad and spreading wide, which make a cool, refreshing, and welcome shade in hot countries; the plane-tree. It grows very large and well spread in Macedonia; the body of it is a clear green, smooth as glass, very straight, and about 20 feet high; the leaves are eight or ten feet long, and four feet broad; and the heart of it is a common food in south America.

ably mild than that other smooth watery image: I turned back, thou criedst aloud, followed me, fair Eve return; from whom dost thou fly? whom thou fliest from, of him art thou made, his flesh and bone; to give thee thy being I lent substantial life, nearest my heart and out of my side, to have thee by my side; henceforth an individual and dear comfort, I seek thee as part of my soul, and lay claim to thee who art my other half!—With that thy gentle hand took hold of mine; I yielded; and from that time see how much beauty is excelled by manly grace and wisdom, besides which nothing is truly fair.

So spake our first and general mother, and with eyes of conjugal attraction and meek surrender, half embracing him, leaned upon Adam; half her naked swelling breast met his, hid under the flowing tresses of her golden hair: he, in delight both of her beauty and her submissive charms, smiled with superior love, as poets feign Jupiter to smile on Juno, (*a*) when he makes the clouds fruitful, that shed May flowers; and he pressed her matron lip with frequent and pure kisses:—The devil turned aside for envy; yet with a jealous and malicious look eyed them, and thus complained to himself:

Hateful and tormenting sight! thus these two in the Paradise of one another's arms (the happiest Eden) shall enjoy their fill of bliss upon bliss; while I am thrust to hell, where there is neither joy nor love, but what among others is not the least of our torments, fierce desire pines with pain of longing, never satisfied nor quenched. Yet do not let me forget what I have gained from their own mouths: it seems all is not theirs;

(*a*) *Juno*; Lat. *i. e.* *help or assistance*. An heathen goddess, the sister and wife of Jupiter; she goes under various names among the ancient poets. By this fable they meant the air and earth which came both out of one womb, the Chaos.

there stands one fatal tree, called the tree of knowledge, forbidden them to taste: knowledge forbidden; and why? that is suspicious and without reason: why should their Lord envy them that? Can it be any sin to gain knowledge? can that deserve death? and do they stand perfect only by their ignorance? is that their happy state? their faith, and the proof of their obedience? What a fair foundation is here laid, whereon to build their ruin? for this cause I will excite a greater desire to know, and to reject envious commands invented only with a design to keep them low, whom this prohibited knowledge might exalt and make equal with Gods: perhaps aspiring to be such, they taste, and die, what can likelier be the consequence? but first I must walk round this garden with very narrow search, and leave no place undiscovered; a wonder if chance may not lead me, where I may meet some wandering spirit of heaven, retired in some thick shade, or near some fountain, from whom I may learn what I want farther to know.—Ye happy pair! live while ye may, and until I return enjoy short pleasures, for the woes are long which are to succeed. Having said this, he scornfully turned his proud steps aside, and began to make his search, though with slyness and great circumspection, through woods and plains, and over the hills and valleys.

CHAPTER III.

Uriel warns Gabriel, that some evil spirit had passed by his sphere. Night comes on, Adam and Eve discourse going to their rest: their bower described and evening worship.

MEAN while the setting sun descended slowly, and levelled his evening rays directly against the eastern gate of Paradise: it was a rock of alabaster, piled up almost as high as the clouds, so that it might be easily seen from far; accessible from the earth only by one entrance, with a winding ascent; the rest was a craggy cliff, impossible to climb, that hung over still as it rose. Betwixt these rocky pillars sat Gabriel, (*b*) the chief of the guard of angels waiting for night; about him the unarmed youth of heaven exercised heroic games, but nigh at hand hung celestial armory, shields and helmets, and spears adorned with diamonds and gold. Thither came Uriel, gliding upon a sun-beam, swift as a shooting star that in autumn falls in the night, when fired vapours impress the air, and shews the mariner from what point of his compass he may beware of impetuous winds: Uriel in haste thus spoke to Gabriel:

Gabriel! to thee it belongs, and it is thy charge by lot, to keep strict watch, that to this happy place no evil thing may approach, much less enter in: this day at high noon there came to my sphere a spirit, seemingly zealous to know more of the works of the Almighty,

(*b*) *Gabriel; Heb. i. e. The strength or might of God. The Arabs call him Jibrael, and the Tartars, Sabriel: through ignorance of the original, and corruption of their different tongues. The rabbies account him the minister of God's mereies: and Michael, of his Justice: therefore they call him water, and the latter, fire.*

and chiefly of Man, the latest image of God; I directed him in his way to Paradise, whither he was bent in haste, and I marked his airy gate: but in the mount that lies north from Eden, where he lighted first, I soon discerned by his looks that he was an alien from heaven, and darkened with foul passions: my eye pursued him further, he hid himself in darkness: I fear that one of the banished and outcast angels hath ventured from the deep to cause new troubles; so that thy care must be to find him out.

To whom the warlike angel Gabriel gave this answer; Uriel! it is no wonder if thy perfect sight see far and wide, where thou sittest amid the sun's bright circle: none pass by the watch placed at this gate, but such as come well known from heaven, and from thence no creature has entered since noon; if spirit of other sort being so resolved, have leaped over these earthly bounds on purpose, thou knowest how hard it is to exclude spiritual substance with any bars compounded of matter. But if within the circuit of these walks, he of whom thou speakest should lurk, let him be concealed in what shape soever; I shall know before to-morrow morning.

Thus promised Gabriel; and Uriel returned to his charge, upon that bright beam, whose point now raised bore him slope downward to the sun, that was now fallen beneath the Azores; (c) whither the prime orb incredibly swift had rolled thither diurnal,

(c) *Azores*; Port. Span. *i. e.* *The isles of hawks*: because multitudes of those birds were found there, when the Portuguese first discovered them, A.D. 1449. These islands are nine in number, which lie in the Atlantic or western ocean, over against Portugal: they are called also the *Terceras*, from *Tercera*, *i. e.* *three*: because it is the third, which is found in sailing from Portugal, and the chiefest of them, *i. e.* the sun was now setting in the west.

or this less veluble earth, by a shorter flight to the east, had left him there, adorning the clouds that attended him to the west with reflected purple and gold. Now came on the still evening, and the gray twilight had begun to cover all on earth with darkness; for the beasts were retired to their grassy beds, and the birds to their nests; all but the wakeful nightingale, she sung all night her sweet love song: now the firmament glow'd with stars, the evening star that led on the rest shone brightest; until such time as the moon shone in clouded majesty, and unveiling her peerless light, cast her silver rays through the night, of which she had the apparent dominion; when Adam thus addressed himself to Eve:

Fair consort! the hour of night and all things now being retired to rest, teach us to seek like repose; since God hath set labour and rest to Man successively, as day and night, and the seasonable dew of sleep, now falling with its soft weight, inclines our eyes to slumber. Other creatures rove idle all the day long unemployed, and therefore need less rest; but Man hath his daily work of body or mind appointed, which declares his dignity, and that the regard of heaven is upon all his ways: while other animals range and rove at large, and God takes no account of their doings. To-morrow before the break of day, or at the first approach of light, we must be up, and at our pleasant labour, to clear yonder flowery arbours and green alleys, where we are used to walk at noon, which are overgrown so with branches, that they are almost too much for us, and require more hands than ours to lop their wanton growth: those blossoms also, and those gums that are dropped, and lie all strown about rough and unsightly, must be ridded away, if we think to tread with ease; mean time nature requires, and night calls us to rest.

To whom Eve, adorned with perfect beauty, replied: My author and disposer! what thou biddest, I without argument obey; for so God has ordained; God is thy law, but thou art mine; to know no more is the happy knowledge of a woman and her praise: when conversing with thee I forget all time, the seasons and their change, for all please alike: the breath of the morning is sweet, with the charm of birds that sing at its earliest appearance; the sun is pleasant, when first he spreads his eastern beams upon this delightful land, on the herbs, trees, and fruits, and flowers shining with dew; the fertile earth becomes fragrant after soft rains, and the coming of the grateful and mild evening is sweet; and then the silent night with her solemn bird, and this fair moon, and these the gems of heaven, the stars that are in her train; but neither the breath of the morning, the pleasant sun, the fertile earth, the mild evening, the silent night, nor moon, nor stars, are sweet without thee. But wherefore do these shine all night long? and for whom is all this glorious sight, when sleep hath shut up all eyes?

To whom our first ancestor replied: Accomplished Eve! daughter of God and of Man! these have their course to finish round the earth by to-morrow evening, and they set and rise, administering prepared light, in order from land to land, though to nations yet unpeopled; lest total darkness should regain its old possession, and extinguish life and nature in all things; which these soft fires not only enlighten, but also foment and warm, temper and nourish, with a kindly heat of various influence; or else in part shed down their virtue upon all kinds that grow upon the earth, hereby made fitter to receive perfection from the sun's more powerful ray. These then, though not seen in the dead of night, do yet not shine in vain; nor let us think though there were no men, that heaven would want spectators, or

God want praise; for there are millions of spiritual creatures, that unseen walk the earth, both when we are awake and when we sleep; all these with never ceasing praise behold his works, both day and night: how often from the steep hill that echoes, or from the thickets, have we heard heavenly voices in the middle of the night, singing alone, or answering one another's song, singing their great Creator; often have we heard them in bands, while they keep watch, or take their nightly walk; when with heavenly touch of instruments joined in full harmony, their songs have divided the night, and lifted our thoughts up to heaven.

Talking in this manner, and joined hand in hand, they passed on together to their happy bower: it was a place chosen by God himself, when he framed all things to the delightful use of Man: the roof was thick covered and shaded with laurel and myrtle, and what grew up higher were trees, whose leaves were substantial and sweet smelling; on either side grew *Acanthus*, (*d*) and bushy shrubs fenced up the green wall; every beautiful flower raised its full blown head in between, iris of all hues, and roses, and jessamin, looking like Mosaic (*e*) work; under foot violets, and crocus, and hyacinth, richly beautified the ground, and coloured it finer than any stone of costliest emblem could do: no other creature durst enter here, neither beast, bird, insect, or worm, such awe did they stand in of Man; Pan nor Sylvanus (*f*) were never feigned

(*d*) *Acanthus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a prickle or thorn: because many thorns grew about it. A tree or a shrub with a long and a large leaf turning in.

(*e*) *Mosaic*; Fr. Ital. Lat. Gr. a term of archit. A curious work of many little stones of different colours, inlaid or joined together upon a bottom of plaister of Paris, upon walls or floors, representing flowers of divers shapes, chequer work.

(*f*) *Sylvanus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* woody: a god of the woods and groves among the old heathens. Pan, Faunus, and Silvanus are but the same deity; their feasts were called Lupercalia.

to have slept, nor nymph nor faun have haunted in a shady bower more sacred and retired: here in a close recess Eve, after being espoused to Adam, first decked her nuptial bed with flowers and garlands, and sweet smelling herbs; and the heavenly choir sung the marriage song, that day the friendly angel brought her to him, adorned with naked beauty more lovely than what is feigned of Pandora, (*g*) whom the gods were said to have endowed with all their gifts (and Oh too like in the sad event!) when to the unwise son of Japhet, (*h*) being brought by Hermes, she ensnared mankind with her fair looks, to be avenged of him who had stole fire from heaven to animate a man.

Thus being arrived at their shady lodge, both stood, and turned, and under the open sky adored that God that made the sky, and air, and earth, and heaven, which they beheld; the moon's resplendent globe, and the stars: thou also (they said) Oh omnipotent Maker, madest the night and the day, which we employed in our

(*g*) *Pandora*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. all gifts*. The wife of Epimetheus; Pallas gave her wisdom; Venus, beauty; Mercury, eloquence: and so every god and goddess gave her some perfection. Jupiter sent her to Epimetheus with a box, which he rashly opened; and all diseases, evils and miseries flew out of it, and infected mankind. She is described by Hesiod, L. 1. 60. &c. Eve is this woman, and the fall of man is couched under the fable, which the heathens had by a long tradition.

(*h*) *Japhet*; Heb. *i. e. persuaded*. The poets call him Japetus; and the Tartars call him Japhis: he is said to be the son of Epimetheus, Lat. Gr. *i. e. after wit*: because he smarted for his curiosity, in opening the box. The brother of Prometheus, Lat. Gr. *i. e. wit beforehand*: forecast and wisdom. He was said to have put life and soul into a man, which he made of clay; to quicken which, he stole fire or soul from heaven. Jupiter, for his presumption, sent Pandora to plague the earth. These are memorials of the creation and fall of Adam, from Gen. ii. 7. and oral tradition, couched in fables.

appointed work have finished; in our mutual help happy, and happy in our mutual love, which is ordained by thee to be the crown of all our bliss; and happy in this delightful place, too large for us, where thy abundance wants more to partake of it, and plenty falls uncropt to the ground: but thou hast promised, that from us two shall proceed a race to fill the earth, who shall with us extol thy infinite goodness, both when we wake, and when as now we ask thy good gift of sleep.

This they said unanimously; and observing no other ceremony, but pure adoration, which God likes best; they went with joined hands into the inmost bower, and not needing to put off these troublesome disguises which we now wear, they immediately lay down side by side: nor do I suppose that Adam turned away from his fair spouse; nor Eve refused the mysterious rites of connubial love; whatever some hypocrites may talk austere of purity, and place, and innocence, defaming that as an impure thing, which God has declared pure, has commanded to some, and leaves free to all: our Maker bids us increase, and who bids us abstain? who, but our destroyer? the foe both of God and Man? Hail wedded love! great mystery! true source of human offspring! sole propriety in Paradise! where all things else are common; by thee it was that adulterous lust was driven out from men to range among the beasts, founded in reason, just, loyal, and pure; by thee first were known the dear relations, and all the endearments of father, brother, and son: far be it from me that I should call thee sin, or blameable, or think thee unbefitting the holiest places; thou perpetual fountain of domestic sweets! whose bed is undefiled, and pronounced chaste, present or past, as being so to saints, and patriarchs: here are love's true darts felt; here love's lamp is constantly lighted; here love reigns, plays and revels, not in the bought smiles of harlots.

without love, without joy, without endearment; mere casual fruition! not in the amours of courts, mixed dances, or wanton masquerades, or midnight balls, or serenades, which the lover sings in the cold night to his proud mistress, which deserves nothing from her but disdain. Instead of such music, these two were lulled to sleep by nightingales, clasped in one another's arms, and the flowery roof shed roses upon their naked limbs, to repair which the morning brought forth more. Blest pair! sleep on as yet, happiest if ye seek for no happier state, and limit your knowledge, so as to desire to know no more.

CHAPTER IV.

Gabriel appoints two angels to Adam's bower; who find Satan at the ear of Eve; they bring him to Gabriel; Satan's behaviour thereon, and flight out of Paradise.

DARKNESS and night was now spread over the garden of Eden, and the cherubim issuing forth at the accustomed hour to their night watches, stood armed in readiness for their duty; when Gabriel to the angel who was next him in power spoke thus:

Uzziel, (i) draw half these off, and with strictest watch coast the south: with these other I shall wheel the north: our circuit meets full west. They parted like flame, half wheeling to the right-hand toward the spear, and half to the left-hand toward the shield. From these he called two subtle and strong spirits that stood near him, and gave them this charge:

(i) *Uzziel; Heb. i. e. the strength of God; one of the supposed guardians of Paradise.*

Ithuriel, (*k*) and Zephon, (*l*) with winged speed go through this garden, and leave no corner of Paradise unsearched; but chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge, now perhaps laid asleep and apprehending no danger. This evening is arrived an angel from the sun, who tells of some infernal spirit bent towards Eden (who could have thought it possible?) escaped the bars of hell, no doubt come upon some bad errand: wherever ye find such, seize him fast, and bring him hither. Saying this, he led on his radiant files, dazzling the moon, directly to the bower in search after what they sought; there they found him sitting squat in the shape of a toad, close at the ear of Eve; trying by his devilish art, to reach the organs of her fancy, and with them forge, just as he pleased, illusions, phantasms, and dreams; or if breathing in venom, he might taint the animal spirits that rise from the pure blood, like gentle gales from rivers; and from thence at least raise distempered and discontented thoughts, vain hopes, vain aims, and inordinate desires, blown up with high conceits that engender pride. As Satan sat thus intent, Ithuriel touched him lightly with his spear; up he starts, discovered and surprised; for no falshood can endure the touch of any thing of celestial nature, but of force it returns to its own likeness: as when a spark of fire lights upon a heap of gunpowder, laid ready to store some magazine against an expected war, diffused with sudden blaze inflames the air; so in his own shape started up the fiend. Those two fair angels

(*k*) *Ithuriel*; Heb. i. e. *the light or searcher of God*. Another of those supposed guardians.

(*l*) *Zephon*; Heb. i. e. *the spy or watch of God*. Another of those guardians, to whom Gabriel gives these orders. Zephon, the son of Gad, and father of the Zephonites, is mentioned, Num. xxvi. 15. But Ithuriel and Zephon are scriptural names of angels, good or evil.

stepped back, half amazed so on a sudden to behold the king of hell; yet unmoved with fear soon accosted him:

Which of those rebel spirits condemned to hell art thou? that hast escaped thy prison; and why didst thou sit here transformed, like an enemy in wait, and watching at the head of those here that sleep?

Do not ye then know? answered Satan, filled with scorn, me do ye not know? ye knew me once, no companion for you, sitting there where you durst not approach: not to know me, proves that you yourselves are unknown, some of the lowest of your throng; and if you do know, what do you ask for, and begin your business in an idle and superfluous speech, likely to end as much in vain?

To whom Zephon made this reply, answering scorn with scorn: think not, revolted spirit, that thy brightness is not diminished, or to be known by the same shape as when thou stoodest in heaven, pure and upright: no; that glory when thou wast no longer good departed from thee; and now thou resemblest thy sin and place of doom, obscure and foul. But come, for be assured thou shalt give an account to him who sent us; whose charge is, to keep this place inviolable, and these two from harm.

Thus spoke the cherub; and his grave rebuke, severely spoke in youthful beauty, added invincible grace: the devil stood abashed, and felt how awful goodness is, and saw virtue how lovely she was; he saw, and regretted his own loss of it, but chiefly to find it observed here, that his lustre was visibly impaired; yet he seemed undaunted: said he, if I must contend, best to contend with the best; the sender, and not the sent; or all at once; more glory will be won then, or less lost. Thy fear, said bold Zephon, will save us

the trial what the least of us can do single against thee, wicked and thence weak.

Satan made no reply, but quite overcome with rage went haughtily on, like a proud steed under the rein, champing his iron curb: he held it vain to fly, or to resist; for an awe from above had quelled his heart, else he was not dismayed. Now they drew nigh to the western point, where those half-rounding guards just met, and stood closing in a joined squadron, waiting the next command; to whom Gabriel their chief, from the front called loudly: friends! I hear the nimble tread of feet hastening this way; and now by glimpse through the shade can discern Ithuriel and Zephon, and with them there comes a third of regal port, but of a faded brightness, who by his gate and his fierce demeanor seems to me to be the prince of hell; not likely to depart hence without a contest: stand firm, for defiance and opposition are in his looks.

He scarcely had ended, when Ithuriel and Zephon approached, and briefly related whom they had brought, where they had found him, how he was busied, and what form and posture he was couched in; to whom, looking sternly at him Gabriel spake: Satan, why hast thou broke the bounds prescribed thee and thy transgressions? and why hast thou disturbed the charge of others, who do not approve to transgress by thy example; but have a power and a right to question, why thou hast boldly entered on this place, employed as it seems to violate sleep, and those whose dwelling God has settled here in happiness?

To whom Satan, with a contemptuous look made answer: Gabriel! in heaven thou hadst the estimation of being wise, and such indeed I thought thee, but thy asking this question puts me in doubt. Does there live any body who loves his pain? or who would not, if he

could find a way, break loose from hell, though he was doomed thither? thou thyself wouldst, I make no doubt, and boldly wouldst venture to whatever place thou couldst, to get farthest from pain; where thou mightest hope to change torment for ease, and soonest recompense sorrow with delight; which is what I sought in this place: this to thee is no reason, because thou knowest nothing but good, and hast not tried evil. Wilt thou object his will, who bound us? let him bar his iron gates surer, if he intends we shall stay in that dark durance! thus much was asked me. The rest is true; they did find me where they say, but that implies neither harm nor violence.

Thus he spoke in scorn: the warlike angel was moved, and half smiling, thus replied disdainfully: What loss there is in heaven for one to judge of wisdom, since Satan fell, whose folly overthrew him! and now returns him escaped from his prison, very gravely in doubt, whether he should hold them wise or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither from his bounds prescribed in hell, without leave granted him: however, he judges it wise to fly from pain, and to escape his punishment; so judge thou still, presumptuous rebel, until that wrath, which thou incurrst by flying, meet thy flight, and with sevenfold vengeance scourge that wisdom back to hell again; which yet taught thee no better, that could not teach thee that no pain can equal infinite anger provoked. But wherefore art thou alone? wherefore did not all hell come with thee, broke loose? is pain to them less pain, or less to be fled? or art thou less hardy to endure than they? a courageous chief! the very first in flight from pain! hadst thou alleged this cause to thy deserted host, surely thou hadst not come away the sole fugitive.

To which, frowning sternly, the fiend answered: Insulting angel, not that I can endure less, or shrink from

pain; thou knowest well I stood thy fiercest, when the blasting vollied thunder made all speed in the battle to thy assistance, and seconded thy spear, which else was not dreaded; but still thy words, as they were before, are at random, and argue thy want of experience, as to what behoves a faithful leader (from hard trials and ill successes past) not to hazard all, through ways of danger which he had never tried; therefore I alone undertook first to pass over the desolate abyss, and spy out this new created world, whereof fame is not silent in hell; hoping to find here a better abode, and settle here upon earth, or else in the air, my afflicted powers; though against our taking possession, we try once more what thou and thy gay legions can do, whose easier business is, to serve their Lord with songs and practise distant cringes, not to fight.

To whom the warrior angel made speedy reply: To say, and then immediately to unsay, pretending first to be wise and to fly pain, next professing to be a spy, argues no leader, but a traced liar, Satan! and couldst thou add faithful? Oh profanation of the sacred name of faithfulness! faithful to whom! to thy rebellious crew, an army of devils? a fit body to such a head! was this your discipline, your faith engaged, and your military obedience, to dissolve allegiance to the acknowledged supreme power? and thou, sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem patron of liberty, who once fawned and cringed more than thou, and servilely adored the awful king of heaven? wherefore? but in hopes to dispossess him, and reign thyself? but mark what I pronounce thee now: avaunt! fly back again from whence thou art fled! for if from this hour thou darest but to appear within these hallowed limits, I will drag thee back chained to the infernal pit, and seal thee so, that thou shalt not henceforth scorn the easy gates of hell, as barred too slightly.

So he threatened; but Satan heeded no threats, but growing still more enraged, replied: Proud limitary cherub! when I am thy captive, then begin to talk about chains, but until then expect to feel a far heavier load from my powerful arm; though the King of heaven ride upon thy wings, and thou with thy fellow slaves, used to the yoke, drawest his triumphal car, in progress through the star-paved road of heaven.

While he spoke thus, the angelical squadron turned fiery red, sharpening their phalanx into half moons, and began to enclose him round with presented spears; as thick as ears of corn, ripe for the harvest bend to the wind; on the other side, Satan being alarmed and collecting all his might, stood fixed and enlarged like mount Tenerif, (*m*) or Atlas: his stature reached the sky, and on his crest sat horror for a plume; nor did he want in his grasp what seemed both spear and shield. Now very dreadful deeds might have ensued, not only Paradise, had gone to wreck in this commotion, but perhaps the starry cope of heaven, all the elements had been disturbed and torn with the violence of this great conflict had not God to prevent such horrid fray, hung forth his golden scales in heaven, which are yet seen

(*m*) *Teneriffe, Tenerif, or Tenerife; Portug. i. e. holding up on high.* It is the chief of the Canary islands, which are seven in number, in the western ocean, and about thirty leagues from the continent. It is over against Morocco in Africa, about 48 Spanish leagues round. Ptolomy reckoned the longitude from them: because the ancients esteemed them the remotest part of the ocean; and some modern geographers follow him still. The peak of Teneriffe is one of the highest mountains upon our globe; a mass of rocks heaped confusedly together, like a rough pyramid; computed to be between three or at most four miles perpendicular above the sea; and about fifteen miles to them that ascend it. It may be seen 120 English miles off at sea, in clear weather. There is a volcano on the top of it, and it is also covered with snow; therefore some call it Nivaria; *i. e. a snowy rock.*

between *Astrea* (*n*) and the sign *Scorpio* (wherein he first weighed all things created, the pendulous round earth, and counterpoised it with ballanced air, and now weighs in them all events of battles, and realms) in these he put two weights, one of them to shew the consequence of Satan's retreating, and the other of his fighting; the latter scale flew up quick and struck the beam; *Gabriel* seeing thus spoke to the fiend .

Satan! I know thy strength, and thou too, knowest mine, neither of them our own, but both given us: what folly is it for us then to boast what arms can do, since thine can do as much as heaven permits, and mine can do no more, though my strength be doubled now to trample thee: for a proof look up in yonder celestial sign where thou art weighed, and shewn how light and weak thou art, if thou shouldest resist.— The fiend looked up, and saw and knew his scale mounted aloft; nor did he stay, but fled away murmuring, and with him likewise fled the shade of the night.

(*n*) *Astrea*; Lat. *i. e.* a star. The daughter of *Jupiter*, and *Themis*, and goddess of justice. In the golden age, or state of innocency, she lived among men; but in the iron age, or after the fall, she deserted the earth, last of all the gods; because of of the wickedness of men, and flew up to heaven, where she became the sign *Virgo*, next to *Libra*, *i. e.* a scale. Justice's balance, another of the twelve signs.

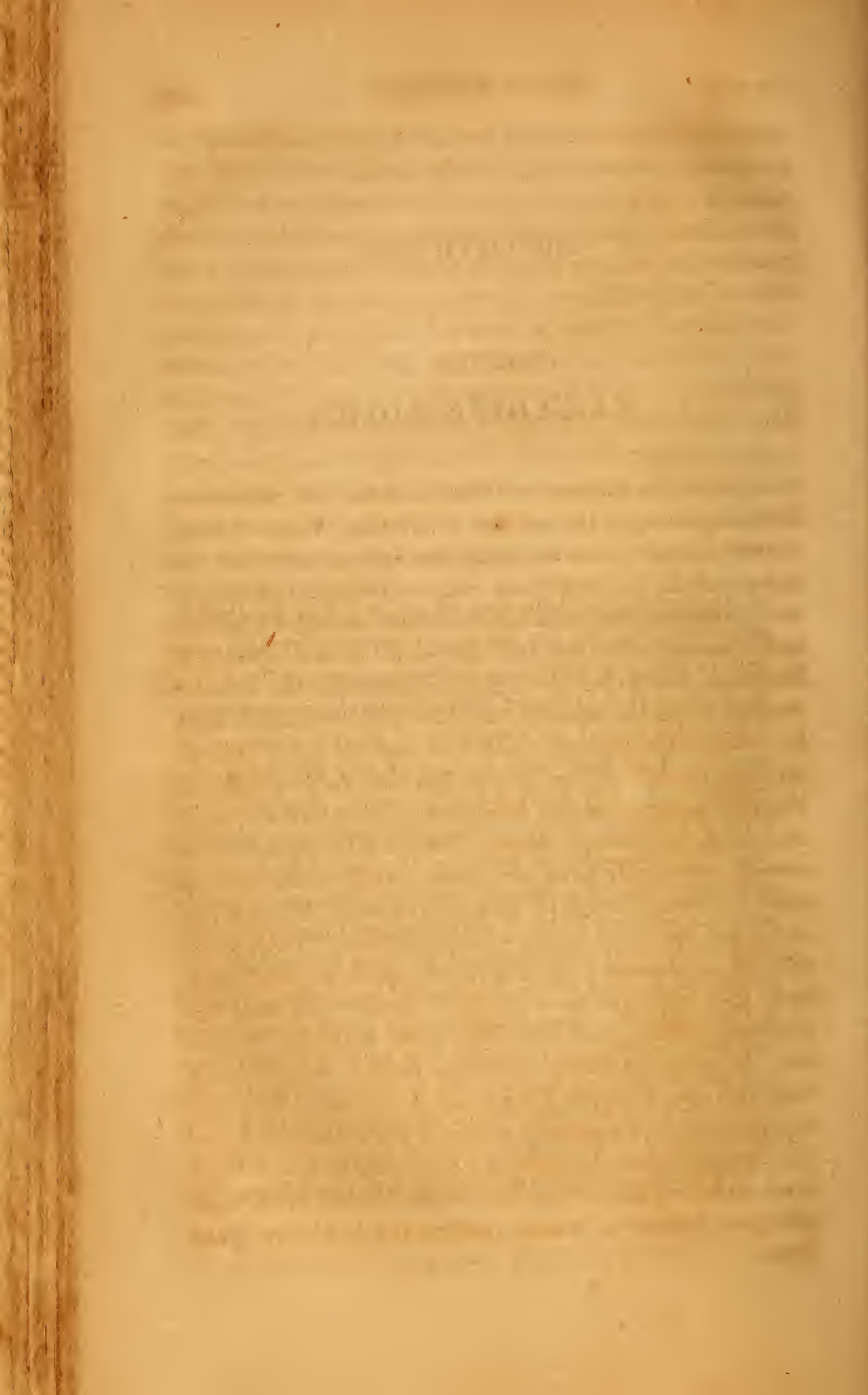
THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE morning approaching Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he does not like it, yet comforts her; they come forth to their day labour: their morning hymn at the door of the bower. God to render Man inexcusable, sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand; who he is; and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise; his appearance described, his coming discerned by Adam afar off, sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, and puts Adam in mind of his state, and of his enemy. Raphael at the request of Adam, relates who his great enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and therein incited them to rebel with him; persuading all, but only Abdiel, a seraph, who in his argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.



CHAPTER I.

Eve relates to Adam her dream; they come forth to their day-labour: the morning hymn.

Now the morning advancing with red streaks in the east, covered the earth with shining drops of dew, when Adam awaked, being so accustomed; for his sleep was light, bred from pure digestion and temperate pleasing fumes, which the bare sound of leaves, and running streams and the shrill morning song of birds on every bough lightly dispersed: his wonder was so much the more to find Eve not yet awake; with her hair discomposed and her cheeks glowing, as through unquiet sleep: he on his side half raised and leaning, hung over her enamoured with looks of cordial love, and beheld beauty, which whether asleep or awake cast forth peculiar graces: then with voice as mild as when the gentle winds breathe on the flowers, softly touching her hand, whispered thus: Awake! my fairest! my spouse! my last found good! heaven's last, best gift! my ever new delight! awake! for now the morning shines, and the fresh field calls for us; we lose the prime to observe how our tender plants spring, how the citron grove blows, what the balm tree and the myrrh drop, how nature paints her colour, and how the bee sits upon the flowers extracting honey. Such whispering awaked her; but with startled eyes, turned upon Adam; to whom (embracing him) she spoke thus:

O thou! in whom alone my thoughts find any repose, my perfection and my glory! gladly I see thy face and the morning returned; for I this night have dreamed, if indeed it was a dream (for such a night until this I never passed before) not as I am often used about thee, the work of the past day, or that next designed for the morrow; but I have dreamed of offence and trouble, which until this irksome night my mind never knew. Methought that one close at my ear with a gentle voice called me to walk, I thought it was thine: it said, Eve, why dost thou sleep? now is the pleasant, cool and silent time, only where silence yields to the nightingale, that now awake tunes in the sweetest notes, his love laboured song: now the full moon reigns, and with a pleasanter light sets off the face of things, but all in vain if none regard it: heaven wakes with all his eyes, and who is it to behold but thee, who art the desire of nature? in whose sight all things have joy, attracted by thy beauty, still to gaze with ravishment. I arose thinking it to be thy call, but could not find thee, to which end I then directed my walk; and alone, methought, I passed on through ways that brought me on a sudden to the forbidden tree of knowledge. It seemed very fair, much fairer to my fancy than it did by day; and as I looked on it with wonder, there stood by the side of it, one shaped and winged, like those that come from heaven, which we often see; his dewy locks dropped sweetness; and he also gazed on that tree: and O fair plant, said he, overcharged with fruit! does nobody vouchsafe to ease thy load, and taste thy sweetness? neither God nor Man? is knowledge so much despised? or is it envy? or what reserve is it that forbids to taste of it? let who will forbid it, none shall longer withhold from me thy offered good: to what end else art thou set here? Having said this, he made no further pause, but with adventurous arm

he plucked off the fruit, and tasted it: a damp horror chilled me, at such bold words, confirmed with such a bold deed. But he overjoyed, exclaimed thus: Oh divine fruit! sweet of thyself, but thus cropped much more sweet; forbidden here it would seem as only fit for gods, and yet art able to make gods of men: and why not make gods of men, since good the more it is communicated, grows more abundantly; the author at the same time not impaired, but the more honoured? here thou happy creature! fair angelical Eve! do thou partake also; for though thou art happy, thou mayest still be happier, though thou canst not be worthier: then taste this, and henceforth be amongst the gods, thyself a goddess; not confined to the earth, but as we are, sometimes in the air, sometimes ascend up to heaven (which is thine by merit) and see there what life the gods live, and such a one live thou. Saying this, he drew nigh to me, and held even to my very mouth, part of that same fruit which he had gathered: the pleasant savoury smell so quickened my appetite, that, methought, I could not forbear tasting: forthwith I flew with him up to the clouds, and beheld the earth stretched out immeasurably a wide and various prospect far underneath me: while I was wondering at my flight and my change to this high exaltation; on a sudden my guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down, and fell asleep: but Oh, how glad I was when I waked to find this nothing but a dream! Thus Eve related what had passed in her sleep in the night, and Adam, with much sadness made this answer.

Thou best image of myself! and my dearer half! the trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep, equally affects me; nor can I by any means like this strange dream, which I fear to proceed from evil. Yet whence evil? none can harbour in thee, for thou wert created pure. But know, that there are many lesser faculties in

the soul, which are subordinate to reason: the chief of these is fancy; she forms imaginations, and airy shapes of all the external things, which the five senses represent, which (reason either joining or disjoining) frame all what we affirm, or what we deny, and call our knowledge or opinion, and when nature rests, then reason retires into her private cell, and rests also. Mimic fancy, in her absence often wakes to imitate her; but misjoining shapes generally produces wild work and mostly in dreams; ill-matching of words and deeds long since past, or lately done. Methinks I find some such resemblances of our talk last evening, in this thy dream, but with very strange addition: yet be not sad; into the mind of either God or Man evil may come, and go, and if unapproved of, leave no spot or blame behind it: which occasions me to hope, that what thou didst abhor to do in a dream asleep, thou never wilt consent to do waking. Then do not be disheartened, nor let there be a cloud upon that face, that used to be more cheerful and more serene, than when the fair morning first opens on the world: and let us rise to our fresh employments among the groves, and among the fountains and flowers, that now open their choicest smells, which have been shut up from the night, and kept in store for thee.

So Adam endeavoured to cheer his fair spouse, and she was cheered; but silently from either eye, she let fall a gentle tear, and wiped them with her hair: two other precious tears that stood ready to drop Adam kissed away, looking on them as gracious signs of sweet remorse, and a pious awe that was afraid to have offended.

So all was cleared, and they hastened forth to the field: but first from under the shady roof of the arbour, as soon as they where come forth to the open sight of day and the sun (who scarce risen and yet hovering on the ocean's brim, shot parallel his dewy rays to the earth, discovering in a wide landscape all the east of Paradise,

and the happy plains of Eden) they bowed lowly in adoration, and begun their prayers, duly offered every morning in various style; for neither did they want various style nor holy rapture, to praise their Maker in proper strains, either pronounced or sung unpremeditated; such ready eloquence flowed from their lips, in prose or harmonious verse, too tuneable to want either lute or harp to add more sweetness to them; and they began thus:

Almighty! parent of good! these glorious works are thine, and thine this universal frame, so wonderful beautiful! how much more wonderful art thou! unspeakable! who sittest above the heavens, to us invisible, or seen dimly in these thy lowest works: yet these declare thy goodness to be beyond thought, and thy power to be divine. Speak ye sons of light! ye angels! how wonderful the Creator is, for ye behold him, and with songs and symphonies, day without night, sing round about his throne rejoicing in choir; this do ye in heaven! on earth join all ye creatures! to exalt and praise him, first and last and for ever without end! thou fairest of stars the last in the train of night! (if more properly thou belong not to the dawn) the sure pledge of day, that beautifiest the smiling morning with thy bright circle! praise him in thy sphere, while day arises! thou sun! both soul and eye of this great world, acknowledge him thy greater; in thy eternal course sound his praise! both when thou climbest and when thou hast reached high noon, and when thou settest. And thou, O moon! and ye five other wandering fires! that move in a manner not to be comprehended, yet not without harmony, resound his praise who out of darkness called forth light. Air! and ye other elements! the first birth of nature, that runs a perpetual circle taking various and numberless forms, mixing with and nourishing all things; let your ceaseless

change still vary new praise to our great Maker! ye mists and exhalations! that now rise dusky or gray, from the hills or streaming lakes (till such times as the sun-beams paint ye like gold) rise ye, in honour to the world's great Author! whether rising to deck the uncoloured sky with clouds, or falling to wet the earth with showers of rain, still advance ye his praise! breathe soft, or loud his praise, ye winds! that blow from four quarters! and ye pine trees wave your tops! and every plant, in sign of worship wave! ye fountains! and ye murmuring streams! tune his praise. Join voices, all ye living souls! ye birds! that singing ascend up towards heaven's gate, upon your wings and in your notes bear his praise. Ye fishes that swim in the waters? and ye creatures that walk the earth, treading or lowly creeping! witness if I am silent morning or evening, to hill, to valley, to fountain or fresh shade made vocal by my song, and taught his praise! Hail, universal Lord! be thou still so bounteous to give us only good; and if the night hath gathered any thing of evil, do thou disperse it; even as the morning light now dispels the darkness.

So they prayed innocently, and to their thoughts soon recovered firm peace and usual calmness, on they hasted to their morning's rural work, among sweet dews and flowers or where any rows of fruit trees reached too far their overgrown boughs, and wanted hands to check them from fruitless embraces, or else they led the vine to wed the elm, who twining her marriageable arms about him brings with her, her dow-er, the rich clustres of grapes to adorn his barren leaves.

CHAPTER II.

Raphael is sent to admonish Man of his obedience, comes down to Paradise; his appearance described: Adam discerns his coming; goes to meet him, and brings him to his bower; where Raphael performs his message.

THE high King of heaven with pity beheld them thus employed, and called to him Raphael, (a) the sociable spirit, that condescended to travel with Tobias, and assisted him in his marriage.

Raphael! said he, thou hearest what a stir Satan (escaped from hell to earth through the darksome gulf) hath raised in Paradise; how this night he hath disturbed the human pair, and how he designs in them at once to bring on the ruin of all mankind: therefore go, and half this day converse with Adam, as one friend with another, in what bower or shade thou mayest find him, retired from the heat of the noon, to give some respite to his day labour with repast or with repose; and bring on such discourse as may advise him of the happy state he is in, happiness in his power, left to his own free will; his will, though free yet mutable: thence take occasion to warn him, to beware he swerve not, by imagining himself too secure: withal, tell him his danger, and from whom; what enemy lately fallen himself from heaven, is now contriving the fall of others from a like state of happiness: is this to be done by violence? no; for that shall be withstood; but by deceit and lies: let him know this, lest transgressing wilfully he should pretend surprisal, and that he was unadmonished and unforewarned.

(a) *Raphael*; Heb. *i. e. the remedy or physic of God*. The name of an archangel, not mentioned in sacred scripture, only in Tob. ch. iii. 17. 4. viii. 9. 5. 15.

So spoke the eternal Father, and so fulfilled all justice: nor did the angel make any delay after he had received his charge; but from among thousands of bright and holy angels, where he stood veiled with his beautiful wings, springing up lightly, he flew through the midst of heaven; the choirs of the angels parting on each hand gave way to his speed, until he arrived at the gate of heaven, which opened of its own accord, turning on golden hinges, as God the sovereign architect had by divine workmanship framed it. From hence no star or cloud interposing to obstruct his sight, he saw (not unlike to the other shining globes, though it appeared to be very small) the earth, and the garden of God, with cedars growing in it, above all hills: as when by night through a telescope, imagined lands and regions are observed in the moon, or a pilot from amidst the Cyclades, (*b*) see Delos (*c*) or Samos (*d*)

(*b*) *Cyclades*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* circles, fifty-three islands lying in a circle, round about Delos, in the Archipelago.

(*c*) *Delos*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* manifest or appearing: because (as the fable goes) it lay under water or floated about, for a long time, till Neptune at the command of Jupiter, fixed it, that Latona might lie in of Apollo and Diana there. Rather from Daal, Heb. *i. e.* fear: because they were worshipped in this island, and some remains of the magnificent temple of Apollo, as marble pillars, are visible there. And for that reason it was esteemed so sacred, that the inhabitants would not suffer a dog, or any sick person to live in it, or any dead to be buried therein; whom they sent to a neighbouring island, called Rhene. But the true reason of this name is this, because it appears soonest of any to the sailors. The common treasures of Greece were deposited in it, for that reason. It was first called Ortygia, Gr. *i. e.* a quail; because these birds abounded in that island. The island is small, not above five or six miles in compass; twice as long as broad, low, rocky, barren, now desolate, and called Zdeli: and esteemed the first and chief of the Cyclades;

(*d*) *Samos*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* high; because it is upon a high and lofty ground; another of these isles over against Ephesus; about

first appearing to be only a cloudy spot. He speeds down thither direct in flight, and through the sky flies between the stars: now with steady wing upon the polar winds, (*e*) then with his wings fans the yielding air; until arriving where towering eagles could soar as high, to all the fowls he seems a phoenix, (*f*) gazed on by all as that bird, when he flies to burn himself to death in the fire of the sun, as far as the Ægyptian Thebes. (*g*) At once he lights upon the eastern cliff of Paradise, and returns to the shape he had, when God gave him the charge, a winged seraph: he wore six wings to shade his divine lineaments; the pair that clad each broad shoulder came mantling with regal ornament over his breast: the middle pair girded his waist like a girdle of stars, and covered round his loins and thighs with golden feathers, and colours that were dipped in heaven; the third pair shadowed his feet with sky-coloured feathers, of heavenly beauty: he

because Apollo and Diana were chiefly adored, and had a famous oracle in it. The Turks possess it, and the Venetians reduced it, A.D. 1674.

90 miles from Jerusalem. It is rendered famous for being the birthplace of the great philosopher Pythagoras, about A.M. 3500.

(*e*) *Polar winds*, i. e. the winds that blow from the north and south poles.

(*f*) *Phœnix*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e.* red, crimson coloured. A very rare bird, of a purple colour, like an Eagle. They say it breeds in Arabia, liveth 300, others say 500, some 660, and others 1469 years; that it burns itself to death in a nest of sweet spices, about Thebes in Egypt; out of these ashes another springeth. It is an emblem of the resurrection of the dead; and the fathers urged it for a proof thereof, against the heathens, who believed it real; but most think it is a fable.

(*g*) *Thebes*; several cities are called so; this was in Egypt, called also *Heliopolis*, Gr. *i. e.* the city of the sun: and the country about it. Thebais, now Theves.

stood like him the poets feign to be the son of Maia, (*h*) and shook his plumes so that heavenly fragrance filled the wide circuit. He was soon known to all the bands of angels, who were guarding under watch, and they all rose up as he past, in honour to his state and high message; for upon such they guessed him to be bound: he went by their glittering tents, and now was come into Paradise, through groves of myrrh, sweet flowers, cassia, (*i*) spikenard, (*k*) and balm, a wilderness of sweets; for nature wantoned here as in her youth, and played virgin fancies at pleasure, pouring forth sweets in great abundance, wild above rule and above art, and full of every thing that could bring happiness. Adam discerned him coming onward through the forest of spices, as he sat at the door of his cool bower; while now the meridian sun shot his hot rays directly downward, to warm the inmost bowels of the earth (with more warmth than was necessary for Man) and Eve within at the accustomed hour prepared savoury fruits for dinner, of taste to please a true appetite, and not give a disrelish to draughts between, taken from the soft stream, or pressed from berries or grapes; to whom Adam called thus:

(*h*) *Maia*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a nurse. The daughter of Atlas, of whom Jupiter begot Mercury.

(*i*) *Cassia*; Lat. Gr. Heb. *Ketsioth*, *i. e.* a scraping. A sweet smelling shrub in Arabia, Egypt, &c. for when the bark of it is scraped, it sends out a most fragrant smell, like cinnamon. There are nine species of it. About Alexandria and in the West Indies it grows to be a very large tree.

(*k*) *Spikenard*; Heb. *i. e.* sweet ointments; another sweet smelling shrub, growing in Arabia, Syria, and India, called *nardos* by the Greeks, and *spikenard* by us. See Cant. i. 12. Mark xiv. 3. John xii. 3. With oil made of this and other sweet smelling herbs, the ancients anointed themselves and their guests, whilst they sat at table, Psalm xxiii. 5. "Thou preparest a table before me, in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over."

Eve, hasten hither, and behold what glorious shape worthy thy sight comes this way, moving eastward among those trees, and seems another morning risen at noon day; perhaps he brings to us some great message from heaven, and will to-day vouchsafe to be our guest; but do thou go with speed, and bring forth what thy stores contain, and pour forth abundance, fit to receive and honour our heavenly stranger; we may well afford our givers their own gifts, and largely bestow what is largely bestowed on us, where nature multiplies her plentiful growth, and by disburthening herself, grows the more fruitful, which may serve for instruction to us not to spare.

To whom Eve replied; Adam, whom God made from the earth, and breathed life into! a small store will serve, where abundance in all seasons hangs ripe for use on the stalk, except what by frugal keeping gains more firmness and matureness, making it more nourishing and consuming superfluous moisture: but I will hasten, and from every tree and plant, and juiciest ground, will pluck such choice fruit to entertain our guest the angel, as, when he beholds, he shall confess that God hath dispensed his bounties here on earth, even as he has in heaven.

Saying this, with busy looks and in haste she turns away, intent upon hospitable thoughts, what fruits to choose that were most delicate; and in what order to contrive not to mix tastes, disagreeable to one another, and not elegant; but bring taste after taste, changing them so as they may still please. She stirs about, and gathers from each tender stalk whatever the fruitful earth yields, either in east or west India, or the middle shore in Pontus, (*l*) or the Punic (*m*) coast, or

(*l*) *Pontus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. the sea*. It is called the Euxine sea, the Black sea, Mare Maggiore (by the Italians, *i. e. the greater sea*, through ignorance) and by other names. Pontus is

where Alcinous (*n*) reigned; a large tribute of fruit of all kinds, in rough coat, smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell, and heaps them upon the board with an unsparing hand: for drink she squeezes grapes, and many sorts of berries, and makes new wine; though new, yet not offensive: and pressing of sweet kernels, prepares creams of an agreeable taste; nor did she want pure and fit vessels to hold such liquors: she then strews the ground with roses, and sweet odours from the shrubs: mean while our first great father walks forth to meet his godlike guest, accompanied by no other train than his own complete perfections; all his state was in himself; much more solemn than the tedious pomp that waits on princes, when their rich and long retinue of led horses, and grooms whose habits shine with

a small sea in Lesser Asia, upon the north-east side of Constantinople, runneth into the White sea, and from thence into the Mediterranean sea. A fine country about it is also called Pontus, Acts ii. 9. 1 Pet. i. 1. The ancient Seythians or Tartars bordered upon it. Pontus was made a kingdom by Darius the son of Hystaspes, A.M. 3490, in favour of Artabazus, a son of one of the lords of Persia, who conspired against the Magi, who had usurped that throne. After him six of the name of Mithridates, and other kings reigned there. Ovid was banished thither by Augustus; and there he died, after ten year's confinement to a cold climate and barbarous inhabitants, where he wrote his *Tristia*.

(*m*) *Punic*, *Phœnician*, q. *Penic* from the *Pæni* or *Bene-Anak*. Heb. *i. e.* the sons of Anak, a famous giant, Numb. xiii. 22. 28. The old inhabitants of Canaan, in the days of Moses.

(*n*) *Alcinous*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* *magnanimous*. An ancient king of Coreyra (now Corfu) in the mouth of the gulf of Venice; who had fair orchards, it being an apple country. The poets, in high commendation of them, feigned they were golden apples, which Homer took from the garden and apples of Paradise. The latter poets had this from him, and he from all antiquity. He entertained Ulysses, when he was cast upon his island, magnificently.

gold, dazzles and sets all the crowd a gazing. Adam coming nearer to the angel, though he was not awed, yet approaching with submission and meek reverence, and bowing low, as to a superior nature, spoke thus:

Native of heaven (for no other place can contain so glorious a shape) since by descending down from the thrones above, thou hast been pleased to leave those places, and honour these with thy presence, vouchsafe to remain a while with us in yonder shady bower, as being as yet but two, who by the gift of God possess this spacious ground; please there to rest and taste the choicest fruit the garden bears, until this noon heat be over, and the sun in his decline grow more cool.

To whom the angel Raphael gave this mild answer: Adam! therefore I came; nor art thou created such, or dwellest in such a place, as may not often invite even the spirits of heaven to visit thee: lead on, where thy bower overshades, for all the hours, until the evening arise, I have liberty to stay with thee.—So they came to the sylvan lodge, that looked like the arbour of Pomona, ornamented with flowers, and filled with variety of fragrance; but Eve without ornament, except what was in herself, stood to entertain her guest from heaven; (more lovely than any wood nymph, or the fairest of the three feigned goddesses, (*o*) that contended for the golden prize upon mount Ida) she needed no veil, for she was virtue proof; no impure thought altered her cheek. On whom the angel bestowed the holy salutation, used long after to the blessed virgin

(*o*) *Three goddesses; Juno, Pallas, and Venus, who strove for the golden apple, with this motto, Let it be given to the fairest. They chose Paris for their umpire, and promised him great rewards to bring him over to their interest. Venus promised him Helena the fairest woman in the world, &c. He gave it and the pre-eminence of beauty to her, which was the original cause of the destruction of Troy, himself and his family.*

Mary, (*p*) who was the second Eve. "Hail! mother of mankind! whose fruitful womb shall hereafter fill the world, more numerous with sons than the trees of God have heaped this table with these various fruits." — Their table was raised with turfs of grass, and had round it seats of moss; and on the top of it, from side to side, was piled all the fruits of autumn, though spring and autumn were here at the same time. They held discourse a while before they eat, when thus Adam began to speak:

Heavenly stranger! be pleased to taste these bounties, which he who nourishes us (and from whom all perfect good comes without measure to us, for delight and food) hath caused the earth to yield, perhaps it may not be proper food for spiritual nature; however, this I know, that it is only one celestial Father that gives to all. To whom the angel replied: Therefore what he (whose praise be for ever sung!) gives to man in part spiritual, may not be found disagreeable food for purest spirits; and these pure intelligential substances require some sort of food, as well as doth your rational: and both contain within them every lower faculty of sense, by which they hear, see, smell, touch and taste; and tasting, concoct, digest, and turn corporeal to incorporeal: for know thou, that whatever was created, wants to be sustained and fed; of the elements the grosser feeds the purer, the earth feeds the sea, the earth and sea feed the air, the air feed those ethereal

(*p*) *Mari*, or *Mary*; Heb. *Miriam*, Lat. and Gr. *Maria*, i. e. *bitter*, or very *sad*. Miriam the sister of Moses, was the first of that name; because she was born in the time of a bitter affliction and slavery in Egypt. See Exod. xv. 23. and Ruth i. 23. Here, the blessed virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord, who had a real salutation, from the archangel Gabriel, 4000 years after this. "And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, "thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; blessed art "thou among women."

fires, and as lowest, first the moon, whence are in her round visage those spots; being unpurged vapours, not yet turned into her substance: nor is it so, that the moon exhales no nourishment from her moist continent to higher orbs. The sun, that imparts light to all, in moist exhalations; and at evening drinks of the ocean. Though the trees of life in heaven bear ambrosial fruit, and the vines yield nectar, and though we brush manna each morning from off the boughs, and find the ground covered with finest grain; yet God hath varied his bounty here with such new delight as may be compared with heaven, and think not I shall be backward to taste.—So down they sat, and began to eat; the angel not seemingly, nor in a mist (the common gloss of theologists) but with keen despatch of real hunger, and concocting heat, to digest food: what redounds transpires with ease through spirits; nor is it a wonder, if it be true, that by fire the alchymist can turn, or holds it possible to turn, the basest and drossiest of metals to gold, perfect as from the mine. Meanwhile Eve served naked at the table, and filled their flowing cups with pleasant liquors. O innocence, truly deserving of Paradise! then, if ever, had the sons of God (*q*) an excuse to have been enamoured at that sight; but in those hearts reigned purest and chastest love, nor was jealousy (the hell of the injured lover) understood.

Thus when they had sufficed, not burthened nature, with meats and drinks, a sudden thought arose in the mind of Adam, not to let the opportunity slip given

(*q*) *The sons of God*; i. e. the *holy angels*, whom some thought to have conversation with women, from a false sense put upon, Gen. vi. “And it came to pass when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.”

him by this great conference, to know something of things that where above the world he was placed in, and of their being who dwell in heaven; whose excellence he saw so far to transend his own; the divine effulgence of whose radiant forms, and whose high power so far exceeded human nature; and thus he addressed his wary speech to the messenger from heaven:

Inhabitant with God! now I perceive thy great favour, in this honour done to Man, under whose lowly roof thou hast not disdained to enter, nor to taste these earthly fruits, which though not the food of angels, thou hast accepted in such a manner, as that thou couldst not seem to have eat more willingly at the feasts of heaven; yet what comparison can be made?

To whom the angel made this reply: Oh Adam! there is but one Almighty, from whom all things proceed, and to whom all things return, if not depraved from good, all created such to perfection, one first matter clothed all with various forms, various degrees of substance, and life in things that live; but as nearer placed to God, or nearer tending to him, more refined, spirituous, and pure, each assigned in their several active spheres; until body work up to spirit, in the bounds proportioned to each kind: so from the root the green stalk springs lighter, and from thence the leaves more airy, last the bright and full blown flower breathes sweetest perfumes; Man's nourishment, flowers and their fruit, sublimed by degrees aspire to vital spirits, and so to animal and intellectual; giving both life, sense, fancy, and understanding, whence the soul receives reason, and reason discursive or intuitive is her being; discourse is oftenest yours, and intuition mostly ours; differing but in degree, and being of the same kind. Make no wonder then, that I do not refuse to eat what God saw good for you, but convert it as you do to proper substance. The time may come, when men may partake with an-

gels, and find no inconvenience in the diet, nor the fare too light; and from these corporal nutriments, improved by length of time, perhaps your bodies at last may turn all to spirit, and you may ascend with wings to heaven, like us, or dwell at your choice here, or in heavenly Paradises; if ye be found obedient, and unalterably keep his love firm and entire, whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy your fill of what happiness this happy state can afford, and know that you are incapable of more.

To whom the Father of mankind made answer: Favourable spirit! my gentle and kind guest! thou hast well taught the way that might direct our knowledge, and set before us the compass of the whole creation; whereby we may, in contemplation of things created, ascend to God. But tell me, I pray thee, what was the meaning of that caution, 'If ye be found obedient?' Can we then ever want obedience to him, or is it possible we should forsake his love, who formed us out of the dust, and placed us here in the fulness and utmost measure of bliss, that can be apprehended or sought after by human desires? to whom the angel made answer: Son of heaven and earth! to what I am about to say give great attention! that thou art happy, owe it to God; that thou continuest happy, owe to thyself, that is, owe it to thy obedience; therein stand firm: this was that caution given thee, therefore be advised: God made thee perfect, but not unchangeable, and he made thee good; but he left it in thy own power to persevere or not; ordained thy will free by nature, not over-ruled by inevitable fate, or strict necessity. He requires our voluntary, and not our necessitated service; such with him finds no acceptance, nor ever can find; for how can hearts that are not free be tried, whether they serve willingly or no? who will do nothing but what they must by destiny, and can choose no other? I my-

self, and all the host of angels that stand in the sight of the throne of God hold our happy state upon the same condition as you do yours, ‘only while we hold our obedience,’ and upon no other surety: we serve freely, because we love freely; it being in our will, either to love or not, and in this we either stand or fall: and some are already fallen, fallen to disobedience, and from heaven to deepest hell: from what high state of bliss into what misery!

To whom our great ancestor replied: Divine instructor! I have heard thy words attentively, and with an ear more delighted, than when the songs of cherubim, send heavenly music by night from the neighbouring hills. Nor was I ignorant, that I was both as to will and deed, created quite free: yet that we never shall forget to love and obey our Maker, who has laid but one command upon us so mild and so just, my constant thoughts always assured me, and assure me still; though what thou tellest me, hath passed in heaven, hath moved some doubt within me, but more hath it moved desire to hear (so be it, thou consent) the relation at full: which must needs be very strange and worthy to be heard with sacred silence: there yet remains great part of the day to come, for the sun hath scarcely finished half his journey, and begun his other half in the great zone of heaven.

CHAPTER III.

Raphael tells Adam who his great enemy is, informs him of Satan's first revolt, and what was the occasion thereof. Abdiel forsakes Satan and his party.

THUS Adam made his request; and Raphael after a short pause assenting, began thus:

First of men! what thou desirest of me, is no small matter, for how shall I explain to human sense the invisible exploits of contending spirits, or how relate without a renewal of past grief, the ruin of so many, who once while they stood firm to their obedience were so glorious and perfect? how lastly unfold the secrets of another world, which perhaps may be improper to reveal, yet this is dispensed with for thy good: and what is out of thy capacity, I shall so delineate by likening spiritual things, to things corporal, as best may make them understood: though what if earth be only the shadow of heaven; and the things that are in them, much like one another more than upon earth they are imagined to be?

This world as yet was not created, and the wild chaos reigned where now the heavens roll, and where the earth rests poised upon her own centre; when upon a day (for time applied to motion measures all things durable by past, present, and future, though it be in eternity) upon such a day, as heaven's great year brings forth, the heavenly host of angels, called by imperial summons appeared forthwith before the throne of the Almighty, from all the ends of heaven, in bright order under their hierarchs: ten thousand thousand ensigns advanced high, stream in the air, standards, and banners, betwixt the van and the rear, and serve for distinction of hierarchies, of orders and degrees, or

in their glittering tissues bear expressed holy memorials, acts of zeal and love fairly recorded. Thus when they stood in circles in number inexpressible, orb within orb, the infinite Father, by whom sat the Son, in the bosom of bliss, amidst them, as from a flaming mount, whose top brightness had made invisible, spake thus:

All ye angels! children of light! thrones! dominations! principedoms! virtues! and powers! hear this my decree, which shall stand irrevocable. This day have I begot whom I declare my only Son, and anointed him upon his holy hill, he it is whom ye now behold at my right hand; I appoint him to be your head: and I have sworn by myself, that every knee in heaven shall bow to him, and confess him Lord. Under his great vicegerency do you all remain united, as though all were but one individual soul, and be for ever happy: who disobeys him, disobeys me, breaks the union, and that day becomes cast out from God and all blessedness, and falls into utter darkness, deep into the lowest gulf without any redemption, and without end.

Thus spoke the Almighty, and all seemed well pleased with his words: seemed pleased, but all were not so in reality. They spent that day like other solemn days in mystical song and dance about the sacred hill (which yonder starry sphere of planets, and of fixed stars, in all her wheels resembles nearest; eccentric, intervolved, and yet most regular when they seem most irregular) and in their motions divine harmony is expressed so smoothly in charming airs, that God's own ear listens delighted. The evening approached now (for we have also our evening and our morning, not for necessity, but for pleasant variety) and from the dance with one consent, they turned themselves to sweet repast, tables are set all in circles, as they stood, and all on a sudden where piled up with the food of

angels and bright nectar flows in cups of pearls and diamonds, and massy gold; the produce of delicious vines that were the growth of heaven.

Reposed upon banks of flowers, and crowned with rich garlands, they eat, and drink, and in sweet communion quaff immortality, and joy, before the all-bounteous King, who gave with a copious hand and rejoiced in their joy. Now when the night exhaled with clouds, from that high mountain of God, whence light and shade both spring, had changed the full brightness of heaven to grateful twilight; (for night does not come there, in total darkness) and sweet dews had disposed all to rest, except the unsleeping eye of God; wide over all the plain, and far wider than all this globose earth, if it were spread out in length (for such are the courts of God) the angels dispersed in bands, and files, and extended their camp in numberless pavilions by leaving streams that run among the trees of life; and suddenly raised up celestial tabernacles where they slept, refreshed with the cool wind, except those, who in their turn sung melodious hymns all night long before the throne of God. But Satan (call him so now, for his former name is no more heard in heaven) did not wake to any such purpose; he, one of the first, if not the very first archangel, very great in power, in favour, and pre-eminence; yet being filled with envy against the Son of God, who was that day honoured by his great Father, proclaimed Messiah, (*r*) (and anointed king) could not bear through pride to see that sight, and thought himself lessened and impaired, conceiving thence disdain and deep malice, he resolved as soon as it was midnight, and all were in sleep, and silence, to desert with all his legions, and contemptuously to

(*r*) *Messiah*; Heb. *Messias* and *Christos* in Greek, *i. e.* the anointed. Christians believe that Jesus, born in Bethlehem, about A.M. 4000, in the reign of Augustus, is the true Messiah or Christ.

leave the supreme throne unworshipped and unobeyed, and to him who was next in degree under him, thus spoke in secret:

My dear companion! dost thou sleep now? what sleep can close thy eyes, dost thou not remember the decree of yesterday, which hath passed the lips of the almighty King of heaven? thou wast used to impart thy thoughts to me, I mine to thee, waking we had but one mind, how then is it, that thy sleep makes us differ, thou seest there are new laws imposed! new laws made by him who reigns, may raise new minds in us who serve, and new counsels to debate what may hereafter happen: it is not safe to utter more in this place. —Do thou assemble all those angels of whom we lead the chief; tell them that by command before morning, I, and all those who are under my command are to hasten homeward with speedy march, where we possess the quarters of the north; there to prepare a fit entertainment to receive our King, the great Messiah, and his new commands, for that he intends very soon to pass triumphantly through all their hierarchies, and give them laws.

Thus spoke the false archangel and into the breast of his unwary associate infused bad sentiments; who called together, or severally one by one, the regent powers that governed under him, and told them as he was taught, that it was the command of God. Now, before the morning that the great hierarchal standard was to move, tells the suggested cause: throws in ambiguous words between and jealousies, either to sound or taint integrity: but all obeyed the usual signal and the superior voice of their great potentate: (for high indeed was his degree and very great his name in heaven:) his countenance that was like the morning star, allured them, and with lies, he drew after him the third part of the host of heaven.

Mean while the eye of God (who discerns the most hidden thoughts) from forth his holy mountain, and from within the golden lamps that burn all night before him, saw (without help from their light) rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread among the sons of the morning, and what multitudes were leagued to oppose his high decree; when to his only Son, he said smiling:

Son, thou in whom I behold my own glory in full splendor, the heir of all my power! it nearly concerns us now to be sure of our omnipotence; and with what arms we mean to hold what we have claimed from all eternity of godhead, or of empire: for such a foe is rising as intends to erect his throne equal to ours, all through the spacious north; and not contented with this he has it in his thoughts to try in battle what our power, or our right is: let us take counsel, and to this contest draw up with speed all the power that is left us, and employ it in our defence, least unawares, we should lose this our high place, our hill and sanctuary. To whom the Son, with a calm and clear countenance, that shone with brightness unspeakable and divine, made answer:

Almighty Father! thou justly hast thy foes in derision, and in thy own power secure, laughest at their vain designs, and vain tumults: which to me is the cause of glory, whom their hate shews more to advantage, when they shall see all power given me to quell their pride; and find by the event whether I am able to subdue those who rebel against thee, or be found the weakest in heaven. Thus spoke the Son: but Satan with great speed was far advanced with his powers, a host as innumerable as the stars of night, or drops of dew in the morning. They passed many regions, and mighty regencies of seraphim, potentates and thrones, in their several degrees: (regions to which all thy dominions Adam is no more to be compared, than this

garden is to all the earth, and all the sea) which having passed, at length, they came into the limits of the north, and Satan to his royal seat high upon a hill like a mountain upon a mountain with pyramids and towers hewn from quarries of diamonds and rocks of gold, the palace of great Lucifer, (*s*) (so called that structure interpreted in the dialect of men) which he not long after called the Mountain of the Congregation, in imitation of that mountain whereon the Messiah was declared the only begotten Son in the sight of heaven; so that he affected all equality with God: and thither assembled all his train; pretending that he was commanded so to do, to consult about the great reception of their king Messiah, who was to come thither: and with calumnious art and counterfeited truth thus addressed the angels under his command:

Thrones! dominations! pryncedoms! virtues! and powers! if these high titles yet remain, or are not merely titular, since another now has by decree engrossed all power to himself, and eclipsed us under the name of the Anointed King; for whom we make all this haste of midnight march, and meet thus hurrying here, only to consult how we may best receive him, with what new honours can be devised, he coming to receive from us a knee-tribute which we never yet paid: a vile prostration! too much to shew to one, but double, how can it be endured! to one first, and now another, which he proclaims to be his image. But what if better counsels might influence our minds, and teach how to cast off this yoke? will you submit your necks? and do you choose to bend your humble knee? you will not, if I know or judge right of ye; or if ye know yourselves to be what ye are; the natives, and

(*s*) *Lucifer*; Fr. Ital. Lat. *i. e.* a bearer of light. The first name of this archangel before his fall: because of his most excellent light and glory.

sons of heaven; possessed by none before ye; and if all are not equal yet all are free, equally free: for orders and degrees do not jar but consist well with liberty. Who can then either in reason or right pretend to assume monarchy over such as by right live his equals, and if less in power and splendor are yet equal in freedom? or who can introduce a law and decree upon us, who being without law cannot err? much less impose this anointed King to be our Lord, and look for adoration, to the abuse of our imperial titles, which assert that we were ordained to govern, and not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse had audience without any control, when Abdiel, (*t*) one among the seraphim, than whom there was none obeyed divine commands more, or adored the Deity with more ardency, stood up, and in a flame of zeal thus severely opposed the current of his fury:

Oh proud, false, and blasphemous argument! words! which no ear ever expected to hear in heaven, and least of all thou ungrateful wretch from thee, who art thyself placed so high above others! canst thou condemn with wicked reproach the just decree of God, which was pronounced and sworn! that to his only Son, by right honoured with the royal sceptre, every soul in heaven shall bow the knee, and in that due honour confess him to be rightful King? thou sayest it is unjust, positively unjust, to bind those who are free with laws, and to let equal reign over equals, and one over all, to whom none is to succeed.—Shalt thou give laws to God? shalt thou dispute the points of liberty with him, who made thee what thou now art, and formed and circumscribed the being of all the powers of heaven, just as he pleas-

(*t*) *Abdiel*; Heb. i. e. *the servant of God*, the same as *Obadiah*.

ed? yet taught by experience, we know how good he is, and how careful of our good and dignity; how far from any thought of making us less; rather bent, uniting us more near himself under one head, to exalt our happy state.—But suppose I were to grant thee, that it were unjust, that any equal should reign as king over his equals; thou (though very great and glorious) dost thou reckon thyself, or think all the angelical nature joined in one, equal with him who is the begotten Son? by whom (for he was the Word) the almighty Father made all things, even thee and all the other spirits of heaven, who were by him created in their bright orders, crowned with glory, and given glorious names, thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, and powers, real and essential powers, which are not obscured by his reign, but made more illustrious; since he becoming our head, becomes one of our number, his laws become our laws, and all honour done to him returns back again to us.—Then cease this impious fury, and tempt not these angels to sin; but hasten to appease the wrath of the incensed Father, and the wrath of the incensed Son, and repent in time while pardon may be found.

Thus spoke Abdiel, the faithful and fervent seraph, but none seconded his zeal, as judged rash and singular, and out of season, at which Satan rejoiced, and grown more haughty thus replied:

Sayest thou that we were made then? and the work of secondary hands, by a task transferred from the Father to the Son? a strange and new point of doctrine! which we would know whence was learned: who is it that saw when this creation was? dost thou remember any thing about thy being made, while the Maker was giving thee being? we know no time when we were not, as we are now; we know of none before us, but where produced by a natural course of things, self-raised by our

own quickening power, the ripe birth of this our native heaven, of which we are the natural sons: our power and strength is our own, which shall teach us deeds of the highest importance, to try by proof who is our equal: then thou shalt behold, whether we intend to address and surround the almighty throne with adoration, or with defiance. Do thou go and carry this report and these tidings to the anointed King, and make haste before something worse intercept thy flight.

Satan spake thus, and a hoarse murmur gave applause to his words through the infinite host, like the sound of deep waters; nevertheless the flaming and undaunted seraph Abdiel, though surrounded by foes and alone, thus answered boldly:

Oh alienated from God, spirit forsaken of all good, and accursed! I see that thy fall is determined, and thy unhappy followers involved in this perfidious evil; the contagion being spread both of thy crime and punishment. Be not henceforth any more troubled, how to get rid of the yoke of God's Messiah; those indulgent laws will not be now vouchsafed, but other decrees not to be recalled are gone forth against thee. That golden sceptre which thou didst refuse to obey, is now changed to a rod of iron, to bruise and break thy disobedience. Well didst thou advise me to fly these wicked and devoted tents, yet not for thy advice or threats do I do it, but least the wrath that threatens, raging into a sudden flame, should destroy all without distinction; for expect soon to feel his thunder on thy head, a devouring fire; then mourning, learn to know who is thy Creator, and who hath power to uncreate and destroy thee. The seraph Abdiel spoke thus, who was found faithful among the faithless, alone found faithful among innumerable false ones; he kept his loyalty, love, and zeal unmoved, unshaken, unseduced, and unterrified; though

he was single, neither their number nor example prevailed with him to swerve from the truth, nor altered the constancy of his mind: he passed forth from amidst them, through hostile scorns, which, being much superior to, he easily sustained, nor stood in fear of any violence, but returning their scorn back again upon them, he turned his face from those proud towers, doomed to swift destruction.

THE SIXTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

RAPHAEL continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel went forth to battle against Satan and his angels; the first fight described. Satan and his powers retire under night: he calls a council; invents devilish engines, which in the second day's fight put Michael and his angels to some disorder, but they at length pulling up mountains, overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan. The tumult not ending, God on the third day sends the Messiah his Son; for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory: He, in the power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them, unable to resist, towards the wall of heaven; which opening they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep: Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

100-107-21-207

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CHAPTER I.

Raphael relates how Michael and Gabriel went forth to battle against Satan; the first fight described.

ABDIEL the dreadless angel, held his way all night unpursued through the wide plains of heaven; until returning morning brought on the light. There is a cave within the mountain of God, and not far distant from his throne, where by turns in a continual round light, and darkness, lodge and dislodge; which makes through heaven an agreeable change, like day and night: light issues forth at one door, and at the other obedient darkness enters, until the hour come for her to draw a veil over the heavens (though what is called darkness there, might seem twilight here) and now went forth the morning, such as it is in the highest heavens, arrayed in a celestial and golden hue, and the night went off when it approached shot through with bright beams; when what first met the sight of Abdiel was chariots and flaming arms, and fiery steeds, and thick bright squadrons in battle array that covered all the plain, reflecting blaze on blaze. He perceived war in readiness, and found that to be already known, which he thought to have reported for news: he then gladly mixed himself among those friendly powers, who received him with loud acclamations and joy, that out of so great a number fallen, yet there should one return not lost. They led him on, highly applauded to the sacred hill, and presented him before

the supreme seat, from whence a voice was heard thus mild from the midst of a golden cloud:

Well done, thou faithful servant of God! well hast thou fought the better fight; who single against revolted multitudes, hast maintained the cause of truth, mightier in word than they can be in arms, and for the testimony of the truth hast bore a general reproach, far worse to bear than violence; for all thy care was to stand approved, in the sight of God, though the vast multitude of the apostate angels, judged thee to be perverse. An easier conquest now remains for thee, assisted by this host of friends, to return back upon thy foes with greater glory, than thou didst depart from them with scorn; and to subdue them by force who refuse right reason for their law; Messiah for their King, who reigns by right of merit.

Go Michael! prince of the heavenly armies! and thou Gabriel! next in military art and power, go, and lead forth these my invincible sons; lead forth my armed saints by millions (equal in number to that ungodly rebellious crew) and range them in order for the battle, assault them without fear with hostile arms and with fire, and pursuing them to the borders of heaven, drive them out from God and from bliss, into their place of punishment; the gulf of hell, which has already opened wide its fiery region of confusion to receive them in their fall.

Thus spoke the voice of God, and the clouds began to darken all the hill, and smoke began to roll in dusky and heavy flames; a sign that wrath divine was waked; nor with less terror began to sound from on high the loud ethereal trumpet; at which command the militant powers, that stood firm for the cause of heaven (joined in vast bodies of irresistible union) moved on their bright legions in silence, to the sound of musical instruments, that breathed into them an heroic

ardour to great and adventurous deeds, under their god-like leaders, in the cause of the Almighty and his Messiah: on they move, so firm, that it was impossible for their ranks to be divided by hills, valleys, woods or streams, for their march was high above the ground, and the yielding air bore up their nimble tread; as when every species of birds came summoned over Eden, flying in orderly array to receive their names of thee: so they marched over many a tract and wide province of heaven, tenfold the length of this earthly globe.

At last, far in the horizon of the north appeared a fiery region, that reached the whole length and the utmost depth, drawn up in array of battle; and on nearer view might be seen the bright tops of innumerable spears, a throng of helmets and shields with various ornaments and boasting devices: these were the united powers of Satan, hastening on with furious expedition; for they imagined that very day, either by conquest or by surprise, to win the mountain of God, and to set upon his throne the proud usurper and envier of his power; but their thoughts proved empty and vain in the midway: though at first it seemed very strange to us, that angels should make war against angels, and meet in fierce combat, who were used to meet so often unanimous in festivals of love and joy, and as the sons of one great Sire, praising the eternal Father. But now the shout began for the battle, and the rushing sound of the onset, which put an end to all milder thoughts.

Satan sat high in the midst in his sun-bright chariot, exalted like a God, an idol of divine majesty, enclosed with flaming cherubim and with golden shields; then lighted from his resplendent throne (for now betwixt the two armies there was but small distance left, and front presented to front stood in terrible array, extending to a prodigious length) and before the ranks of the rebellious spirits, just when the armies where about to

join, Satan advancing with vast and haughty strides, came swelling with imaginary power, and armed in adamant and gold: the seraph Abdiel could not endure that sight, where he stood among the mightiest, bent on the performance of greatest actions; and thus he searches and considers his own undaunted heart:

Oh heaven! that there should yet remain such a resemblance of the highest, where faith and truth remain no longer: wherefore should not strength and might fail when destitute of virtue, or prove weakest where it is most presumptuous? though to appearance he seems unconquerable, I mean (trusting in the assistance of the Almighty) to try his power; whose reason I have already tried, and found to be false and unsound: nor is it any thing but just, that he who hath got the better in the debate of truth, should do the same also in arms, and become a conquerer in both disputes alike; though when reason hath to deal with force, the contest is brutish and foul, yet it is most fit that reason should overcome. Considering thus within himself, and stepping out from his armed companions opposite to Satan, his daring foe, he met him half way, who was more incensed, to see him advance so boldly towards him, and to hear from him this defiance:

Proud angel! art thou met? thy hope was to have reached the height of thy aspiring without opposition, and to have found the throne of God unguarded, and his side abandoned, at the terror of thy power and potent voice: thou fool! not to consider, how vain it is to rise up in arms against the Almighty; who out of the smallest things could have raised armies continually without end, to defeat thy folly; or with his own hand, which reaches beyond all limit, without any other assistance could have finished thee and whelmed all thy legions under darkness: but thou mayest see that all are not of thy train; there be some holy angels besides my-

self, who esteem fidelity and piety towards God, though not visible to thee, when I alone seemed in thy world erroneously to dissent from all: thou seest my party, and now mayest learn too late, that when thousands err, some few may be in the right. To whom Satan, with malicious and scornful eyes, gave answer:

In the wished-for hour of my revenge, but ill for thee, art thou returned from flight, whom I have been first seeking, seditious angel! now art thou come to receive that reward which thou hast merited, the first trial of this right-hand provoked; since that tongue inspired with contradiction; first dared to oppose a third part of the Gods, met in council to assert their godheads, who while they feel divine vigour within themselves, neither can or will allow omnipotence to be the attribute of any. But well it is thou art come before thy fellows, ambitious to win from me something to brag of, that thy success may be an example of destruction to the rest; only I have given thee this pause between (lest if I had not, thou shouldest have boasted that I could not answer thee) to let thee know, that at first I thought that liberty and heaven had been the same thing to heavenly souls; but now I perceive that most are so slothful, that they had rather serve, be attending spirits, and trained up in festivals and songs; such are these thou hast armed, the singing minstrelsy of heaven, slavery contending against freedom, as the comparison of this day's actions shall prove.

To whom in few words Abdiel replied sternly: Apostate spirit! thou errest still, and wilt find no end of erring, being out of the path of truth; unjustly thou brandest the service that God or nature ordains with the name of servitude; God and nature command the same things, when he who rules is most worthy and most excellent above those he governs. It is servitude to serve the unwise, or who hath rebelled against

those that are worthier than himself, as thy followers now serve thee, thou thyself not being free, but in slavery even to thyself, yet impiously dardest upbraid our obedience. Do thou reign in hell, thy kingdom, and let me serve the ever blessed God in heaven, and obey his divine commands, which are worthiest to be obeyed! yet do not thou expect realms, but chains in hell, and punishment: mean while receive from me (who just now thou saidest was returned from flight) this greeting upon thy wicked head. Saying this he lifted up his arm to strike a blow, which immediately with great strength and swiftness fell on Satan's proud crest, that no sight nor motion of swift thought could intercept such ruin, much less could his shield: he recoiled back ten paces; the tenth his massy spear supported him upon his bended knee; as if upon earth subterranean winds and waters had forced their way, and side-long had pushed a mountain from its seat, half sunk with all its trees. The rebellious angels were seized with amazement, but more with rage, to see their great general thus foiled; while our powers were filled with joy and shouts, foretelling victory and fierce desire of battle; whereat Michael ordered the archangel trumpet to be sounded through all the heavens, and the faithful armies rung with hosannah to the highest: nor did the adverse legions stand still to gaze, but with sounds as hideous as ours were heavenly, joined the horrid shock. Now storming fury arose, and a clamour, such as until now was never heard in heaven; arms clashing upon armour, made a harsh and terrible discord, and the furious wheels of brazen chariots raged: the noise of the conflict was dreadful, the hiss of fiery darts flew in volleys over head, and as they flew covered either army with fire, under which they both rushed to battle, with ruinous assault and rage not to be extinguished: all heaven resounded, and all

earth had it been then would have been shaken to its centre: what wonder? when millions of encountering fierce angels fought on each side, the least of whom could move these elements, and arm himself with all their force: how much more power had they, army against army, warring without number, to raise dreadful combustion, and disturb (though they had not power to destroy) their native seat! had not the eternal and almighty King, from the seat of his power, over-ruled and set limits to their power: though their number was such, that each legion might be thought a great army, in strength each armed hand was as that of a entire legion; they were led in fight, yet each single warrior seemed like a leader, and as in chief; expert, and knowing when to advance, when to stand or turn the sway of battle, when to open, and when to close the ranks; they had no thought of flight or of retreat, or any unbecoming action that argued fear; each relied upon himself, as if only in his arm lay the balance of the victory: deeds were done of eternal fame, for the war was spread wide and various; sometimes a standing fight upon firm ground, then mounting upon main wing, all the air was troubled; for all the air seemed then to be nothing but contending fire; the battle hung a long time in even scale, until Satan (who that day had shewn prodigious power, and in arms had met no equal) ranging through the dreadful attack of seraphim, confusedly fighting, at length saw where the sword of Michael smote and felled whole squadrons at once; his huge weapon brandished aloft in both hands, the horrid edge came down, wasting far and near. Satan hasted to withstand such destruction, and opposed his ample shield that was of vast circumference, a rocky orb of tenfold adamant. Michael, the great archangel, gave over fighting at his approach, glad as hoping here to end intestine war in heaven, by subduing Satan, or

dragging him captive in chains; but with a hostile frown, and a countenance all inflamed, first spoke to him:

Thou author of evil! which until thy revolt had no name in heaven, now as thou seest these acts of hateful strife are become plentiful; hateful to all, though by just measure heaviest upon thyself and all thy adherents: how hast thou disturbed the blessed peace of heaven, and brought misery into nature, which was not created until the time of thy rebellion? how hast thou instilled thy malice into thousands, who were once upright and faithful, but now are proved false? but think not to trouble holy rest here in heaven; heaven casts thee out from all her confines; heaven, which is the seat of bliss, suffers not deeds of violence and war to be done here: hence then! and let evil, which is thy offspring, go along with thee to hell, the place of evil: hence thou and thy wicked crew! and there stir up broils; before this my avenging sword begin thy doom, or some more sudden vengeance, winged immediately from God, hurl thee down headlong with still additional pain.

Thus spake Michael, the prince of the angels; to whom the adversary Satan replied: Think not with empty and airy threats to awe those, whom yet with deeds thou canst not: hast thou put the least of these to flight? or made fall, but that they rise again unvanquished? dost thou think it easier to contend with me, that thou shouldst hope, imperious archangel, with threats to chase me hence? mistake not so much, as to think that we shall end so that strife which thou callest evil, but we style the strife of glory; which we intend to win, or else turn this heaven itself into the hell thou hast been telling fables of; here intending however to dwell free, if not to reign: mean while thy utmost force (and call him who is named Almighty to

thy assistance) I have not fled from; but instead of that, have sought thee far and near.

They ended talking, and both addressed themselves for fight in a manner not to be described; for who can relate, though with the tongue of angels, or to what things liken it that are seen upon earth, that may lift the human imagination to such a height of godlike power? for they seemed likest gods, whether they stood still or moved; in arms, in stature, and motion, fit to decide the great empire of heaven: now their fiery swords waved, and made broad circles in the air; their shields, like two broad suns, blazed opposite each other, while either side looked on with expectation and horror: the angelical bands from each hand where the fight before was hottest retired with speed, and left large field for them to combat in; it being unsafe to remain near such commotion: such (to set great things forth by small) as if the concord of nature being broke, war was sprung among the constellations, and two planets rushing from a malign aspect of fierce opposition, should meet in the middle of the sky, and confound their jarring spheres. Both together, with an arm next to Almighty, lifted up imminent, aimed one stroke that might determine at once and not need repetition, nor did there appear any odds in power, or in swiftness, to prevent each other; but the sword of Michael, which he had from the armory of God, was given him tempered so, that nothing either keen or solid might resist that edge; it met the sword of Satan, descending with great force to strike, and cut it quite in two, nor stayed there, but wheeling swift reversed, deeply entering, divided all his right side. It was then Satan first knew pain, and writhed himself to and fro, rolling about with anguish, so sorely the piercing sword with separating sharpness passed through him; but the heavenly substance soon closed, which could not be long

divided, and from the gash flowed blood, such as celestial spirits may bleed, and stained all his armour, which before was so bright. Forthwith on every side many strong angels run to his aid, who interposed in his defence; while others bore him on their shields back to his chariot, where it stood retired some distance off the files of war; there they laid him, gnashing his teeth for anguish, shame, and despite, to find himself not matchless, and have his pride humbled by such a rebuke, so far beneath the confidence he had conceived to have equalled God in power: yet he healed soon; for spirits that live throughout their whole being, live wholly in every part (not like frail Man, whose life is in his entrails, heart, head, liver, or reins) and cannot die but by annihilation, nor receive any mortal wound into their fine and spiritual compositions, no more than thin and fluid air can: they live as if they were all heart, all head, all eye, ear, intellect, and sense; and as they please can form themselves, and assume what size, colour, or shape pleases them best, whether it be less or more substantial.

Mean while in other parts where the powers of Gabriel fought, other like deeds deserved to be remembered; who fiercely pierced into the deep array of the furious king Moloch, who defied him, and threatened to drag him bound at his chariot wheels, nor from the holy one of heaven refrained his blasphemous tongue; but soon by the sword of Gabriel being cloven down to the waist, with shattered arms, and pain to which he was before a stranger, fled bellowing away. On each wing Uriel and Raphael vanquished each his vaunting foe, Adramelech (*a*) and Asmodeus

(*a*) *Adramelech*; Heb. *i. e. a magnificent king* A god of Sepharvaim and Assyrian countries, 2 Kings xvii. 31. "And the Avites made Nibhaz, and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adramelech, and Anamelech, the gods of Sepharvaim."

(though powerful and armed in a rock of diamond) two very great angels, that disdained to be less than gods; but in their flight they learned to think a little meaner of themselves, being mangled with gashly wounds, through their broad and plated coats of mail. Nor did Abdiel stand unmindful to annoy all that was possible the atheist crew, but with redoubled blows overthrew Ariel and Arioc, and the violence of the scorched and blasted Ramiel, a very haughty and aspiring angel.

I might relate of thousands, and make their names immortal here upon earth; but those elect angels sufficiently contented with their fame in heaven, do not seek the praise of men; and the fallen angels, though wonderous in might and in acts of war, nor less eager of renown, yet by doom being blotted out of the book of heaven and all sacred remembrance, let them dwell nameless in dark oblivion: for strength divided from truth and justice, is so far from being laudable, that it merits nothing but dispraise and ignominy; yet being vainglorious aspires to glory, and seeks fame through infamy: therefore let their doom be eternal silence.

And now their mightiest chief being quelled, the battle began to be disordered and broken into, with rout and confusion; all the ground was strewed with shivered armour, and upon a heap lay overturned chariot and charioteer, and fiery foaming steeds: those who stood gave back, overwearied, and scarcely through the faint army of Satan maintaining a defensive fight, or surprised with pale fear and sense of pain (being the first fear and pain they had ever known) fled shamefully, brought to such evil by the sin of disobedience; until that hour not having been liable to fear, or flight, or pain. Far otherwise the holy saints (standing firm in the orders they were first drawn up) advanced entire, invulnerable, and in armour that was

impenetrable: such high advantages their innocence, not to have sinned, not to have disobeyed, gave them above their enemies! they stood unwearied in fight, not liable to receive pain from any wound, though they might be removed from their places by violence.

CHAPTER II.

Satan and his powers retire under night; he puts Michael and his angels to some disorder in the second day's fight, but they overwhelm both his force and his engines.

Now night began her course, and bringing on darkness over heaven and silence, there was a truce made to the hateful din of war, and both the victor and the vanquished, as soon as it was night retired. Michael and his angels who had the advantage on their side, encamping on the field where the battle had been fought, placed cherubic waving fires round their watches in guard: on the other part, Satan with his rebellious angels disappeared, and took their stations far in the dark, where finding it impossible to take any rest, he called his potentates to council by night, and standing up in the midst of them, thus began to speak:

Dear companions! now tried in danger, and in arms found to be invincible, and not worthy of liberty only (the thing we pretended to contend for) but of what we more affect, honour, empire, glory, and renown, who have sustained one day (and if one day, why not for ever?) in a doubtful fight, what God with his greatest power could send against us from about his throne, and what he thought sufficient to subdue us to his will. But it does not prove so.—Then it seems we may make a judgment, that he is fallible as

to the knowledge of future things, though until now he has been thought omniscient. It is true, happening to be worse armed, we have sustained some disadvantage, and experienced what pain is; but we know withal, of how little consequence it is and despise it, since we find that we cannot be destroyed, and that our wounds soon close, healed by our native vigour. Of so small an evil let us think the remedy must be easy; perhaps when we meet next, better arms may give us the advantage, and destroy our enemies, or at least make that equal between us, which before made the odds, where there is none in nature: if by any other hidden cause they are indeed superior, while we can preserve our minds unhurt, and our understanding sound, we shall discover it by consultation and proper search.

He sat down, and there stood up in the assembly Nisroc, (*b*) one of the chief of the principalities; he looked as one escaped from the slaughter of the battle, fatigued and wearied out, his armour shattered and cut to pieces, and gloomy in his aspect; he thus replied:

Deliverer from new lords! and leader to the free enjoyment of our right, as we are gods! yet it is hard for gods, and we find it too much to fight in pain, against those who feel none, and are incapable of suffering; from which evil nothing but ruin can ensue; for what signifies valour or strength, if accompanied with pain, which subdues all things, and makes weak the hands of the most powerful? Perhaps we might be willing to be deprived of the sense of pleasure, and live without repining in quiet and content, which is the calmest life; but pain is perfect misery, a real evil, and if it be ex-

(*b*) *Nisroc*, or *Nisroch*; Heb. *i. e.* a young eagle. A god of the Assyrians, worshipped at Nineveh, by Sennacherib, 2 Kings xix. 37. “And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer his sons smote him with the sword.”

cessive, overturns all patience. He therefore, who can invent what we may offend more forcibly our yet unwounded enemies with, or how we shall arm ourselves with the same defence they have, in my opinion deserves no less, than what we already owe for our deliverance.

Whereto Satan, with a composed look, replied: That which thou rightly believest so necessary to our success, is not now to be invented, it being already in my power. Which is there of us, who beholds the bright surface of this celestial mould upon which we stand, this spacious continent of heaven, adorned with such diversity of plants, fruits, sweetest flowers, jewels, and gold; whose eye is it that surveys these things so superficially, as not to observe from whence they grow deep under the ground, made of dark and crude materials, of spirituous and fiery sulphur, until touched with the ray of heaven and tempered, they shoot forth so beautifully up into light? these the deep shall yield us in their first forms, pregnant with strange fire, which being rammed into hollow engines, long and round, and touched at the other end with fire, dilated and put into a violent motion, shall, with noise like thunder, send from far such implements of mischief among our foes, as shall overwhelm and dash to pieces whatever stands against them; so that they shall be afraid that we have disarmed the thunderer of his only dreaded thunderbolt: nor shall our labour be long, for yet before break of day what we wish shall be effected; mean while cheer up, and abandon fear; think nothing hard to strength joined with good counsel, much less to be despaired of.

He finished his speech, and his words gave a little glimmering of joy to their dejected countenances, and revived their languished hope; all admired the invention, and it seemed so easy, once being found (which being unfound most would have thought impossible)

that every one wondered, how he missed to be the inventor of it: yet possibly, Adam, some of thy race in future time (if malice should abound) intent on mischief, or inspired with infernal machination, may invent some such instrument, to plague the sons of men for sin; bent on war and mutual slaughter. Forthwith they rushed out from the council, to undertake this work; no one delayed the time in argument, but innumerable hands were ready; they turned up the celestial soil wide in a moment, and saw beneath the originals of nature; in their unripe conception they found and mingled sulphurous and nitrous matter, and with subtle art having digested and dried it, they reduced it to black grain, and conveyed it into the stores, and part of them provide hidden veins of mineral and stone digged up (nor hath this earth entrails much unlike) whereof to form their engines, and their balls that being discharged might carry ruin with them; part provide reeds, that being lighted, might with a touch give fire to their engines. So under the shadow of the night, secretly and unespied they finished all, and with silent circumspection set it in order.

Now when the fair and shining morning appeared in heaven, the victorious angels rose up, and the morning trumpet sounded to arms: they stood completely armed, in armour of gold, a shining host, and were soon drawn up in bands: others looked round from the hills, and light armed scouts scoured each quarter, to discover the distant foe, where lodged, or whither fled, or if halting, or in motion for the fight: they soon met him, moving near them under spread ensigns, in a slow but firm battalion: Zophiel, (c) the swiftest among the cherubim, with his greatest speed came flying, and thus in the middle of the air he cried out aloud:

.(c) *Zophiel; Heb. i. e. the spy or watch of God.*

Arm, warriors, arm for the fight, the foe whom we thought fled is very near at hand, and to-day will save us the trouble of pursuing him far; there is no fear of his flight, he comes with so large a body, and I see settled in his face a presumptuous resolution and security. Let each gird his armour well, fit well his helmet, and hold his shield with all his strength, either borne even or high; for this day, if I conjecture right, will pour down no slight showers of darts and arrows, but a rattling storm of such as will be bearded with fire.

Thus he warned them, who were themselves aware before, and soon they took the alarm, and instantly, without any impediment or disturbance, moved onward in order of battle; when behold! not far distant the foe approaching with heavy pace, training his devilish engines in such a manner, that they were surrounded on every side with thick squadrons of his angels, to hide the fraud. Both armies stood a while at the interview, but suddenly Satan appeared at the head of his, and was heard thus commanding aloud:

Vanguard! open your foremost ranks to the right and left, unfold the front; that all who hate us may see how we seek peace and quietness, and stand ready with open breast to receive them, if they like our terms, and turn not their backs upon us. But that I doubt of; however, let heaven be witness anon, while we freely discharge our part: you, who stand appointed, do as you have received orders, and touch what we propound briefly and loud, so that there may be nobody but what may hear.

So speaking, in a scoffing manner, and with words of a double meaning; he had scarcely ended, when the front divided to the right and left, and retired to either flank, which discovered to our eyes a new and strange sight; we saw a threefold row of mounted pil-

lars, which were fixed upon wheels; for they seemed most like pillars (or hollowed oak, or fir, with their branches lopt off) of brass, iron, or other material; but what convinced us they were not pillars, was that they were hollow, and their mouths with hideous orifice gaped wide on us: behind each stood a seraph, and in his hand held a lighted reed; while we stood in suspense, abstracted and withdrawn into ourselves, but not long, for on a sudden they all at once put forth their reeds, and with a nice touch applied them to a narrow vent; immediately (though it was soon darkened with smoke) all heaven appeared in a flame, which was belched from those deep-throated engines; whose roar filled with outrageous noise and tore all the air, violently discharging their devilish burthen, chained thunderbolts, and a prodigious number of balls of iron, which they levelled on the armies of God with such impetuous fury, that whosoever were smote by them, could not possibly stand on their feet, though before they stood as firm as rocks, but down they fell by thousands, and angel fell upon archangel, the sooner because of their armour (for unarmed as spirits they might easily have evaded it, either by contracting their substances or removing.) But now followed the breaking of their ranks, and a forced rout: it was to no purpose to open their files, that stood close and as it were locked together. What could they do? if they rushed on, a repeated repulse and another indecent overthrow would render them yet more despised, and a greater subject of laughter to their foes; for another row of seraphim stood ranked in view, in posture ready to discharge their second tire of thunder; and yet to return back defeated they abhorred worse. Satan beheld their condition, and thus in derision called out to his companions:

Friends! what is the matter these proud conquerers do not come on? one while they seemed to be coming fiercely, and when we (and what could we do more) propounded terms of composition, and to give them fair entertainment with open front and breast, presently they changed their minds, and fell into strange vagaries, as if they had a mind to dance, and yet for a dance they seemed somewhat wild and extravagant; perhaps for joy we offered them peace: but I suppose if our proposals were heard once again, we should compel them to a quick resolution.

To whom thus in like frolicksome manner spoke Belial: Leader! the terms that we sent were terms of very great weight, the contents were hard, full of force, and urged home, such as we might easily perceive amused them all, nay and stumbled many; for who receives them right must not be weak, but not being understood, they have this gift beside, they shew us when our foes are not able to walk upright.

So they stood scoffing in a ludicrous manner among themselves, and elevated in their thoughts beyond all doubt of victory; so easily they presumed to match the eternal power of God with their inventions: they made a scorn of his thunder, and derided all his host, while they for a time stood in trouble: but they did not long so; at length rage prompted them, and found them arms, fit to make opposition against such hellish mischief: forthwith (now observe what excellence and power God hath placed in his mighty angels) they threw away their arms and flew to the hills (for earth so far resembles heaven, that it hath this pleasing variety of hill and valley) and running as swift as lightning, they tore the fixed hills, loosening them to and fro, from their foundations, with all their load of rocks, waters, and woods, and lifting them up by the tops, bore them in their hands. Thou mayest be assured

that amazement and terror seized the armies of Satan, when they saw the dreadful bottoms of mountains turned upwards come towards them; and whelmed over all the tripple row of those cursed engines, and that in which they had put all their confidence buried deep under the weight of mountains: they themselves were next invaded, and there came upon their heads, flung through the air, main promontories, oppressing whole legions: their armour helped to do them mischief, crushed in and bruised into their substance, which occasioned them great pain and many a grievous groan, struggling long underneath their bondage, before they could wind themselves out of such a prison, though they were spirits of purest light (that is, they had been once the purest, but now by reason of sin were become grosser.) The rest of the bad angels which were not overwhelmed, imitating the angels of God, betook them to the same sort of arms, and tore up the neighbouring hills; so that hills in the middle of the air encountered hills, hurled dreadfully to and fro, that they fought underground in dismal darkness; horrid confusion arose heaped upon confusion; the noise was as it were infernal, and war to this uproar seemed but a civil game.

CHAPTER III.

The tumult not ending, God sends the Messiah his Son who alone overcomes his enemies; drives them out of heaven, and returns with triumph to his Father.

Now all heaven had gone to wreck, overspread with ruin, had not the almighty Father in his most holy sanctuary, where he sits and beholds all things and their consequences, foreseen thus tumult, and permitted it all, not without design; that so he might fulfil his great purpose to honour his anointed Son, by ma-

king him avenged upon his enemies, and by declaring all power to be transferred to him: whence to the Son who sat by him upon his throne, he spake thus:

Beloved Son! the brightness of my glory! in whose face is seen what is otherwise invisible, what I am by Deity, and by whose hands I do what I decree, who art second Omnipotence! there are past two days (that is two days as we make computation in heaven) since Michael and his powers went forth to resist those disobedient angels; their fight hath been very sore, as it was likely it should be, when two such foes meet in arms: for I left them to themselves, and thou knowest they were formed equal in their creation, excepting what sin hath impaired, which as yet hath wrought insensibly, because I have suspended their condemnation for a time; for which reason they must fight for ever, and no determination be which shall overcome; war hath performed what war can do, is wearied out, and hath let loose the reins to raging disorder, armed with mountains as with weapons, which makes strange work in heaven, and might prove of dangerous consequence.

As two days therefore are past, the third is thine; I have ordained it for thee, and have suffered thus far, that the glory may be thine of putting an end to this great war, which none but thyself can. Into thee I have transferred such immense virtue and grace, that in heaven and hell all may know thy power to be above comparison; and this perverse commotion thus governed, to make manifest that thou art worthiest to be the heir of all things, and to be king by holy anointment, which is thy deserved right. Go then, thou most powerful, in the might of thy Father! ascend my chariot, and guide those wheels that shake the foundation of heaven; bring forth all my instruments of war, my thunder and my bow; gird on my all-powerful arms, and take to thee my sword; pursue these sons of darkness.

and drive them out from heaven into the utter deep; their let them learn at leisure to despise God, and his anointed king the Messiah.

He spoke thus, and shone fully with direct rays upon his Son, who in an unspeakable manner received all his Father into his face, where his power and glory was expressed at full; and thus the Son made answer:

Oh Father! supreme of all heavenly powers! the first, the highest, holiest, and best! thou always art seeking to glorify thy Son, and I always, as is most just, to glorify thee: this I account my glory, my exaltation, and all my delight, that thou well pleased in me declarest thy will to be fulfilled, which to fulfil is all my happiness. The sceptre and power which thou hast given I assume, and shall more gladly resign, when at last thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee shall be for ever, and in me all those whom thou lovest; but whom thou hatest I hate, and as I put thy mildness on, so I can put on thy terrors, being in all things thy image; and being armed with thy might, shall soon rid heaven of these rebellious spirits, and drive them down to the ill mansion prepared for them, to chains of darkness, and the worm that never dies; who could revolt from their just obedience to thee, whom to obey is entire happiness. Then shall thy saints, being far separated from and unmixed with the impure, surrounding thy holy mountain, sing to thee (and I the chief among them) unfeigned hallelujahs, and hymns of the highest praise.

Having said thus, bowing over his sceptre, he rose from the right-hand of God, where he sat; and the third holy morning began to shine through heaven. The chariot of God the Father rushed forth with a sound like a whirlwind, flashing thick flames, having wheels within wheels, which needed not to be drawn, having in themselves the power of motion, but yet were

led on by four forms, like cherubim, each of them having four wonderful faces, and all their bodies and their wings were set with eyes like stars; the wheels had eyes of beril, (*d*) and fires went up and down between: over their heads there was chrystal firmament, where upon a throne made of saphire (inlaid with pure amber, and adorned with great variety of colours) the Messiah ascended, completely armed in heavenly armour of radiant Urim (*e*) being all of divine workmanship; at his side was hung his bow and quiver, stored with three-bolted thunder; and round about him rolled fiercely smoke, kindling flame, and flying sparks of fire. He came onward, attended with ten thousand thousand saints; shining at great distance, and twenty thousand chariots of God (for I heard their number) were seen half on each hand. He rode sublime on the bright sky, upon the wings of cherubim, upon a throne of saphire, conspicuous far and wide: but being first seen by his own angels, they were surprised with unexpected joy, when they saw the great ensign of the

(*d*) *Beril* or *Beryl*; Chald. *Burla*; Arab. *Albelor*; which the Greeks and Latins turned into *Beryllos*. But Exod. xxviii. 20. and Ezek. i. 16. x. 9. it is called *Tarshish*? which is also the name of the ocean, Psal. xlviii. 8. because this stone is of a sea colour. The Septuagint translates it, *Chrysolite*, Gr. *i. e.* the *gold-coloured stone*. It is a precious stone of a feint green colour, like the water of the sea. Aser was engraven upon it; predicting that his habitations should be upon the sea coast, as it happened, Josh. xix. 29. This description of the chariot of the Deity is taken from the prophet Ezekiel and the Revelations.

(*e*) *Urim*; Heb. plural, *i. e.* *lights*. This word with *Thummim*, *i. e.* *perfections*, was put in the high-priest's breast-plate; to inquire and to receive answers from God; which continued in that church until the Babylonish captivity, Ezra ii. 63. Neh. vi. 63. And the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things, till there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim.

Messiah blaze, borne up aloft by angels, which is his sign in heaven; under whose conduct Michael soon reduced his army, which were spread round about on either wing, and made them all one body under him their Head: power divine prepared the way before him, and the hills that had been tore up by the roots, at his command went back to the places from whence they had been taken, for they heard his voice and obeyed it; the face of heaven was restored to what it was before, and the hills and valleys were again covered with fresh flowers.

His unhappy enemies saw all this, but stood obdurate, and rallied their powers to rebellious fight, despair pushing them forward, thinking (insensible as they were) that they could not be worse: is it possible such perverseness could dwell in heavenly spirits? but to convince the proud; how little signs or wonders avail to move the stubborn heart to repentance, they became hardened the more, by that which ought to have most reclaimed them; for grieving to see his glory, they were seized with envy at the sight, and aspiring to his height stood ready to re-engage in fierce battle, trusting either by force or fraud to prosper, and to prevail against God and Messiah, or else at last to fall in universal ruin: and now disdaining flight or retreat, they drew up to final battle, when the great Son of God to his army on both sides spoke thus:

Stand still in bright array, ye saints and here stand ye armed angels! rest this day from battle! your warfare hath been faithful, fought without in the righteous cause of God, and is accepted by him, as ye have received great power, so have ye acted invincibly: but the punishment of this cursed crew belongs to other hands, for vengeance is God's, or those only whom he appoints. Number nor multitude is not ordained to do this day's work: stand only still, and be-

hold the indignation of God, poured by me on these impious rebels; for it is me they have despised, me whom they envied, not you: all their rage is against me; because the Father, to whom in heaven appertains the supreme kingdom, power, and glory, according to his good will hath honoured me: therefore he hath assigned to me to give them their doom; that they may have their wish, to try with me which proves the strongest in battle, they all united, or I alone against them; since they measure every thing by strength, and strive not after, or care who outgoes them in goodness and other divine perfections.

Thus spoke the Son of God, and changed his countenance into terror, too severe to be beheld, and full of wrath rushed upon his enemies. At once the four cherubim spread out their wings, that were full of eyes, which touching one another made a dreadful shadow, and the wheels of his fierce chariot rolled, as with the sound of many waters, or the marching of a numerous army: he drove directly onward upon his impious foes, as gloomy as night; the firm heaven shook throughout under his burning wheels, all except the throne of God: he soon arrived among them, holding in his right-hand ten thousand thunders, which he sent before him, and such they were as in their souls fixed many plagues and torments: they being quite astonished, lost all power of resistance, and all courage, and down dropped their useless weapons: he rode over shields and helmets, with the heads that wore them, of mighty powers and seraphim now lying prostrate; who wished the mountains might be thrown on them again, to shelter them from his rage. On the other side, his arrows did not fall less tempestuous from the four seraphim, who each had four faces, thick set with eyes, and from the living wheels, which also were full of eyes; one spirit ruled in them all, and every eye blazed lightning,

and shot forth such hurtful fire among the accursed spirits, as withered all their strength, and left them spiritless, afflicted, fallen, and drained them of all their usual vigour. Yet did not the Son of God put forth half his strength, but checked his thunder in the midst of its flight; for he did not mean to destroy them, but only to drive them out of heaven: those who were overthrown he raised up, and like a herd of goats or timorous sheep that are flocked together, drove them thunderstruck before him to the bounds of heaven, which opening wide rolled inward, and discovered a great gap into the deep: at that monstrous sight they were struck backward with horror; but far worse horror urged them behind, so that they threw themselves headlong down from the borders of heaven, and eternal wrath burnt after them to the bottomless pit. Hell heard the intolerable noise, and saw heaven falling in ruin from heaven, and being affrighted would have fled, but fate had bound her too fast, and cast her dark foundations too deep. They were nine days in their fall, and the confused and roaring Chaos was filled with tenfold confusion as they fell, until hell at last yawning received them all, and closed upon them; a fit habitation for them, full of unquenchable fire, the dwelling place of pain and misery. Heaven being quit of the burthen rejoiced, and soon shut up the breach through which the fallen angels were driven out.

The Messiah having alone obtained the victory, turned his triumphal chariot from the expulsion of his enemies; all his saints advanced to meet him with great rejoicing, who had stood silent to behold his almighty deeds, and as they went shaded with branches of palm, each bright order sung songs of triumph, expressing him to be the victorious King, the Son, Heir, and Lord, and the dominion was given to him, who was worthiest to reign. He rode, thus celebrated, triumphant

through the middle of heaven, into the courts and temple of his mighty Father, who sits on the highest throne, and who received him into glory, where he now dwells at the right-hand of God.

Thus, Adam, measuring as well as I could things in heaven by those on earth, I have at thy request (and that thou mayest take heed by what is past) revealed to thee, what else perhaps might have been hid from the race of Man; the discord and the war which befel in heaven among the angelical powers, and the deep fall of those too high aspiring spirits, who rebelled with Satan: he who now envies thy state, and who is now contriving how he may seduce thee also from thy obedience, that thou bereaved of happiness mayest partake with him his punishment, which is eternal misery; this would be his greatest delight and revenge, as in despite against the most High, once to gain thee to be the companion of his woe. But do not thou listen to his temptations; warn Eve, who in the capacity of her mind is weaker than thee: let it be of service to thee, to have heard by terrible example, what the reward of disobedience is; they might have stood firm, and yet they fell: do thou bear that in mind, and fear to transgress the command laid upon thee.

THE SEVENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

RAPHAEL, at the request of Adam, relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God after the expelling of Satan and his angels out of heaven declared his pleasure to create another world, and other creatures to dwell therein. God sends his Son with glory and attendance of angels to perform the work of creation in six days: the angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof; and his re-ascension to heaven.



CHAPTER I.

Raphael tells Adam how and why the world was first created.

DESCEND from heaven, thou holy spirit, by some called Urania! (a) following whose divine voice, I soar above the flights feigned of Pegasus, (b) above the top of Olympus. I call upon the meaning, and not the name; for thou art not one of the nine muses, nor dost thou dwell on mountains, but born in heaven before either the hills appeared, or fountains flowed; thou didst converse with eternal Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst rejoice in the presence of the almighty Father, who was pleased with thy heavenly song. Led up by thee, I have presumed to visit the heaven of heavens, though but an earthly guest, and breathed celestial air, tempered by thee to my nature: do thou, guiding me down with like safety, return me to my natural element, lest I fall (as once Bellerophon (c) did)

(a) *Urania*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. heavenly*; one of the nine muses, the goddess of astronomy, and of all heavenly things. She is represented crowned with stars, and a great globe in her hands; to shew, that she teaches the way to heaven.

(b) *Pegasus*; Gr. *i. e. a fountain*; the winged horse of the poets: because it is said, he opened the fountain, Hippocrene, *i. e. the fountain of the horse*, by a kick of his heels, and flew up to heaven. This was a well of Boetia, near Helicon, dedicated to Apollo and the muses.

(c) *Bellerophon*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. a murderer of Beller*, his brother. Perseus the son of Glaucus king of Corinth is so called. He was a noble youth, and after many exploits, being desirous

dismounted on the Aleian (*d*) field, there to wander erroneous and forsaken: there yet remains half unsung; but now I may sing more safely of narrower bounds within the visible diurnal sphere, standing upon the earth, and not being carried away beyond this world; and though with mortal voice, yet unchanged to hoarse or mute; though fallen upon evil days and among evil tongues, in darkness, and encompassed round with dangers and solitude, yet am I not alone, while thou visits my slumbers nightly, or at earliest break of day.

Do thou great spirit still direct and govern my thoughts and words, and though but a few, find for me a fit audience. But drive far off the revellers of Bacchus, the race of that wild rout, that tore Orpheus (*e*) to pieces, in woods where they and rocks (it was said) had ears, and were charmed, until the savage clamour drowned both harp and voice; nor could his harmony defend him: so fail not thou who now implores thee, for thou art heavenly, and his feigned muse only an empty dream. Teach me to relate what followed, when Raphael, the sociable archangel, had forewarned Adam to beware of apostasy, or falling away from God into sin, by a sad example of what had befell in heaven to those apostate angels, lest the like should befall in Paradise to him or to his race, if they transgressed and slighted that only command, which was so easily obeyed; being only charged not to touch the forbidden tree,

of flying up to heaven by the help of his horse, was cast down headlong by Jupiter; and by the fall he was made blind. Then he lived a wandering vagabond life; like another Cain, and died with hunger, about A.M. 2693.

(*d*) *Aleian*, of *Aleia*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* *wandering*. A field in Cilicia, where it is said, that Perseus wandered after his fall from heaven.

(*e*) *Orpheus*, was torn in pieces by the Ciconian or Thracian women, when they celebrated the feasts of Bacchus.

amidst the choice of all other fruits to please their appetite with all variety.

Adam and Eve heard the story of Raphael with great attention, and were filled with the highest admiration, to hear of things so high and so strange, things as had never entered into their thought or imagination, that there should be hate in heaven, and war with such confusion so near the peace of God in happiness; but the evil being soon driven back, fell upon those from whom it sprung, it being impossible for it to mix with blessedness: so that Adam soon recalled the doubts that rose in his heart, and was led on, though without sin, with a desire to know things that nearer might concern him, how this world, heaven, and the visible earth first began, when and of what it was created, and for what cause; what was done within or without Eden, before his memory, about which he proceeded to ask his heavenly guest:

Great things, said he to the angel, and full of wonder, far differing from this world, thou hast revealed to us, thou divine interpreter! by favour sent down from heaven, to forewarn us in time of what, if it had been unknown, might have proved our loss; it being what human knowledge could not reach; for which we owe immortal thanks to God, and receive his admonishing, with a solemn purpose to observe his sovereign will unchangeably, to which end it is that we are. But since thou hast condescended, gently to impart to us the knowledge of things above earthly thoughts, which yet were such things as seemed to God to concern our knowing, vouchsafe now to descend lower, and to relate to us (what perhaps may no less avail us to know) how this heaven, which we behold so high distant, first began, adorned with innumerable moving stars and the ambient air flowing and floating between all bodies, yielding to them or filling up all space, and embracing

the earth round: what cause moved the Creator, who existed in his holy rest through all eternity, to begin so late to create the world, and yet once begun to finish it so soon; unfold this to us, if it be not forbidden thee, which we inquire after, not to pry into the secrets of his eternal power, but that the more we know, the more we may magnify his works; and the sun yet wants a considerable time of his setting, though he be declining, and could he hear thy powerful voice, he would stand still to hear thee tell of his creation, and the rising birth of nature, from darkness and confusion; or if the moon and the stars rise upon thy discourse, night will bring silence, and we can gladly keep waking all the night until thy story be finished, and thou mayest depart yet before morning.

Thus Adam requested his angelical guest, and thus mildly the angel answered: this request of thine, which thou hast cautiously asked, obtain also; though what words or tongue of seraph is capable of speaking, or what heart of man of comprehending the works of the Almighty? yet what thou canst attain to, and which may best serve to glorify thy Maker, and make thee happier, shall not be withheld from thy hearing: such commission I have received from above, to answer all thy desires of knowledge, that are within bounds; beyond those forbear to ask, nor hope that thy inventions or conjectures will discover things which are not revealed, and which God, who alone knoweth all things, hath hid, so that they may not be communicated either in earth or heaven; there is enough besides to search after and to learn: but knowledge is like food, and needs no less temperance to govern the appetite, to know in what measure the mind can well contain and digest, which intemperately taken oppresses with surfeit; and wisdom turns folly, as too much nourishment turns to wind.

Know then, that after Lucifer (call him by that name, for he was once brighter amidst the host of angels, than that bright star is among the stars) fell from heaven with his flaming legions through the deep, into the place prepared for him, and the great Son of God returned victorious with his saints, the almighty and eternal Father beheld their multitude from his throne, and thus spake to his Son.

At least our envious foe hath failed of his purpose, who thought all rebellious like himself, by whose aid he trusted to have dispossessed us, and to have seized this inaccessible high strength, the seat of supreme deity, and into the same bad state drew many, who have no more place in heaven; yet I see the far greater part have kept their stations, and heaven yet retains a sufficient number to possess her realms, and frequent this high temple with due services and solemn rites; but lest he should be lifted up in his heart for the mischief he has already done in dispeopling heaven (which he vainly imagined a damage done to me) I can repair that, and in a moment will create another world, and out of one Man an innumerable race of men, to dwell there and not here; until at length raised by degrees of merit, they open to themselves the way up hither, tried under long obedience; and earth be changed to heaven, and heaven to earth, becoming one kingdom in joy and union without end. Mean while, ye powers of heaven! possess the whole, and thou my Word and my begotten Son! this I perform by thee; do thou speak and let it be done. I send along with thee my overshadowing spirit and my power; ride forth, and bid the deep within its appointed bounds be heaven and earth: the deep be boundless, because I myself fill infinity, nor is the space empty any where; and though I cannot be circumscribed, yet I can retire, and do not put forth my goodness by constraint, which is

free to act or not; I am not compelled by necessity or chance, for what I will that is fate.

Thus the Almighty spoke, and what he said, his Word, the filial godhead, instantly performed. The actions of God are immediate, swifter than time or motion, but cannot be told to human ears, so as earthly motion may receive any idea without process of speech. When the almighty will was heard in such a declaration, there was great triumph and rejoicing in heaven: they sung glory to the most High! Good-will to future men! and peace in their dwellings! glory to him, whose just avenging wrath had driven out the wicked from before his sight, and from the habitation of the just: glory be to him and praise! whose wisdom had ordained to create good out of evil; instead of malignant spirits, to bring a better race into their room, and thence diffuse his goodness to infinite worlds and infinite ages. Such songs as these the blessed angels sung to the glory of God.

CHAPTER II.

God sends his Son to perform the work of creation; which the angels celebrate: his re-ascension into heaven.

MEAN while the Son of God appeared on his great expedition, having almighty power, and being crowned with divine majesty, wisdom, and infinite love, and all his Father shone in him: about his chariot there thronged innumerable cherubim and seraphim, potentates, and thrones, and virtues; winged spirits, and chariots from the armory of God with wings, where thousands stand lodged between two brazen mountains, heavenly equipage, and always ready

harnessed against a solemn day, and now came forth attendant upon their Lord of their own accord, for spirit lived within them; Heaven opened her everlasting gates wide, moving upon golden hinges, to let forth the King of glory, in his powerful word and spirit coming to create new worlds. They stood upon the ground of heaven, and viewed from the shore the vast and immeasurable abyss, which was as outrageous as a sea turned up from the bottom by furious winds; raising up the surging waves like mountains, which would seem wildly to assault the height of heaven, and mix the centre with the pole.

The Word, by whom all things were made, called out and said: Ye troubled waves be silent, and be at peace thou great deep! be no longer at strife.—This saying, he stayed not, but lifted up upon the wings of cherubim in the glory of his Father, rode far into Chaos, and the unmade world; for the Chaos had obeyed his voice. All his train followed him in bright procession, to behold the creation and the wonders of his power. Then stayed the motion of his chariot wheels and took the golden compasses into his hand, which are prepared in the everlasting stores of God, to circumscribe this universe, and all things that are created. One foot of the compasses he fixed in the centre, and turned the other round in the vast dark depth, and said, O world! let this be thy just circumference, and thus far extend thy bounds!

Thus God created the heaven and the earth, and the first matter was without form and void, and darkness covered the deep; but the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and infused vital warmth and virtue through all the fluid parts, but purged downward all the black, cold, and gross dregs, that were enemies to life; then laid the foundation of all things, and gathered together like things to like, so that the elements

were separated in their several places, and earth hung self-balanced upon her own centre.

God said, let there be light! and heavenly light, the first of things, pure quintessence, sprung from the deep, and began to pass from her native east through the gloomy air, and being inclosed in a bright cloud, dwelt a while in a shady tabernacle (for as yet the sun was not) God saw that the light was good, and by the hemisphere divided the light from the darkness; and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night, and the evening and the morning were the first day: nor did it pass uncelebrated or unsung by the angels, when they beheld shining light first exhaling from darkness, in the day that heaven and earth were made: they filled the universe with shouts of joy, and played upon golden harps, praising God and his works with hymns; they sung his praise both when the first evening was and the first morning.

And God said, let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament of expanded air, liquid, pure, transparent, and elemental, diffused and extended to the uttermost parts of this new creation; which was a firm and sure partition, dividing the waters underneath from those above: for he built the world like the earth floating in a calm, wide, pure sky, far removed from the mass of the mixed elements; lest fierce extremes being too near, might damage the whole frame; and he named the firmament heaven: so the evening and the morning were the second day.

The earth was new formed, but involved as yet in the great mass of water, and not yet thoroughly prepared, did not appear: the main ocean flowed all over the earth, not without virtue, but softening all her globe with warm prolific humour, fermented the earth, now full of kindly moisture to conceive; when God said, let the waters be gathered together, and to one place, and let the

dry land appear! immediately the great mountains appeared, rising up above the water, and lifted their tops into the clouds, as high as the hills rose, so low sunk down a hollow bottom, broad and deep, a proper receptacle for the waters; thither they flowed swiftly, part rising in a crystal wall or direct ridge for haste; such flight the great command had impressed on the floods: as armies at the sound of the trumpet (which, as thou hast heard me speak of our armies, thou understandest something of) make up to their standard: so the waters wave after wave, wherever they found way; if steep, they flowed with rapid torrent; if through plains, ebbing softly; nor could rock or hill withstand them; but they, either under ground, or in wide circuit winding and wandering, at last arrive at the place designed for them, and wore deep channels upon the washy and slimy ooze; which was very easy for to do, before God had bid the ground be dry; (except within those banks where the rivers now continually flow.) And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering together of the waters he called seas; and God saw that it was good. And God said, let the earth bring forth grass, and the harp yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after her kind, whose seed is in herself upon the earth! He had scarcely spoke, when the earth (which until then was bare, barren, unsightly, and without beauty) brought forth the tender grass, whose verdure covered her all over with a pleasant green: then all sorts of herbs smelling sweet, and opening with flowers of various colours, suddenly appeared: and before these were well blown, forth flourished the thick clustering vine; forth crept all kinds of smelling gourds, reeds, bushes, and humble shrubs; lastly arose the stately trees, and spread their branches hung with plenty of fruit, or else gave forth their beautiful buds and blossoms: the hills were covered with high woods, and the valleys with green turf, and each fountain and

river side with borders of flowers; that now the earth seemed like heaven, a habitation where gods might dwell, or love to wander in with delight, and frequent such sacred shades: though God had not yet caused it to rain upon the earth, and Man was not as yet to till it, but there went up a mist from the earth, and watered all the ground and each plant of the field; which God made before it was in the earth, and every herb before it grew upon the green stem; and God saw that it was good: so the evening and the morning were the third day.

The Almighty spoke again, and said; let there be lights high in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day from the night; and let them be for sings, for seasons, and for days, and for revolving years; and let them be for lights, as I ordain their office in the firmament, to give light upon the earth; and it was so. And God made two great lights; (if not great with regard to other bodies, yet so for their use to Man) the greater to rule over the day, and the lesser to rule the night, and each by turns divide light from darkness. God overlooking his great work, saw that it was good; for of the celestial bodies he first made the sun (a very great globe) which though of ethereal matter was without any light: then made the moon, another great globe, and stars of every degree of magnitude, with which he filled the firmament, thick as seeds are sown in the field. He took the greater part of light, transplanting it from the cloud, in which at its first creation it was placed, and removed it into the sun's orb, being made porous to receive and take it in, and yet firm so as to retain its gathered beams, it being now the great repository of light: hither the stars repairing, as to a fountain, draw additional light, and from hence the morning star gathers more brightness; and though seen with great diminution, being so far remote from

human sight, they augment their own peculiar light, either by tincture or reflection. 'The glorious sun was first seen in the east, ruling the day, and invested all the horizon round with bright rays, cheerfully seeming to run his course through the high course of heaven; the morning star and other constellations moving with him, shedding sweet influence. The moon was set opposite in the levelled west, less bright than the sun, as his mirror, with full face, borrowing her light from him; for in that aspect she needed no other; and still keeps that distance until night; then she shines in the east, in her turn, revolving on heaven's great axle, and holds her reign, dividing it with thousands of lesser lights, a thousand thousand stars, that then appeared shining in the hemisphere, then first adorned with these bright luminaries, that set and rose: and the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

And God said, let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, reptiles, with spawn abundant, and let the fowl fly above the earth, with wings in the open firmament! and God created great whales, (*f*) and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that it was good, and blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the seas, lakes, and running streams! and let all sorts of fowls of the air increase also. Forthwith the seas, the sounds, and every creek and bay swarm with innumerable fry, and shoals of fish, that with their fins and shining scales swim under the waves in multitudes, large enough to make banks in the ocean: part single, or with mates, graze upon

(*f*) *Whales*; Sax. O. E. The hugest creatures in the sea, as elephants are on the dry land: they are mentioned in particular, Gen. i. 21. "And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly after their kind."

the sea-weed, their pasture; or sporting among coral shew their beautiful scales of various colours, mixed with gold, to the sun; or else lying at ease in their pearly shells, attend moist nourishment; or under rocks, covered with shells like armour, watch for their food; the dolphins (*g*) and seals play upon the calm seas, while other larger fish wallowing unwieldy, and prodigious in their motion, make a tempest as they swim; there the leviathan, hugest of living creatures, sleeps or swims on the sea, stretched like a promontory, and seems a moving land, drawing in and spouting out a sea from his gills. Mean while the warm caves, and fens, and shores hatch their brood as numerous, from all kinds of eggs, that bursting disclose their callow young; but being soon feathered and soaring the lofty air, rise far above the ground, making a great noise with their wings: there the eagle and the stork (*h*) build their nests, on cliffs and the tops of cedars; part loosely flying, and part more wise, led on by others, and ranged in order, and knowing the sea-

(*g*) *Dolphins*, from *Delpi*; Lat. from the Gr. because the people of Delphi first discovered this fish; or *Delphax*, Gr. *i. e.* an *hog*: because it resembles one in its long snout, fatness, ribs, liver and entrails. It is called the sea-hog, and the sacred fish; because it was consecrated to Neptune. A Dolphin is a large fish, not unlike a Porpoise, very straight, and the swiftest of all fishes or birds; as swift as an arrow; it will overtake a ship in full sail before the wind; and continually in motion. It doth live twenty or thirty years, and three or four days out of water, as an eel doth. Dolphins are said to be lovers of men. It is a certain sign of a tempest, when they sport on the water. Their flesh was of great request among the ancients. They have no gall.

(*h*) *Stork*; Sax. Gr. Heb. *Chahdah*, *i. e.* kindness or natural affection: because that bird hath a great love to its young; and they to the old ones. A fowl bigger than a common heron, with a white head, neck, belly, tail and fore part; but black in the back, with broad claws, like the nails of a man.

sons, set forth in large flocks high over seas and lands, easing one another in their flight; so the prudent crane (*i*) steers yearly her voyage, whilst the air is fanned with numberless wings. The smaller birds, flying from branch to branch, sung in the woods until evening; nor even then did the solemn nightingale cease warbling, but tuned her soft song all the night. Others bathed their downy breasts upon pure and clear lakes and rivers; the swan with her arched neck mantling proudly between her white wings, rows herself along in state, her feet serving for oars; yet they often quit the water, and rising on the wing take their flight through the air. Others walked firm upon the ground, such as the crested cock, whose throat proclaims the hours of the night; and the peacock, whose gay train adorns him, tinged with all the colours of the rainbow, and having his tail filled with glittering eyes like stars. The waters thus replenished with fish, and the air with fowl, the evening and the morning were the fifth day.

The sixth and last day of the creation arose with evening and morning song; when God said, let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth each in their kind! the earth obeyed, and strait opening her fruitful womb, at one birth brought forth living creatures without number, forms perfectly limbed and full grown; out of the ground arose wild beasts, as from a den, in forest,

(*i*) *Crane*; Sax. O. E. A name formed from its sound. A bird of passage, celebrated by the prophet, for her observing the fit time of coming and going from one country to another, Jer. viii. 7. "Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the crane, and the swallow observe the time of their coming." It is a bird with a very long bill, neck and legs; sometimes weighing ten pounds; and is a water fowl resorting in fens.

thicket, or brake, where they had been used to shelter; they rose in pairs among the trees, and the cattle walked in the fields and green meadows: the wild beasts few in number, and solitary; but the tame cattle sprung up at once, pasturing in flocks and great herds. The grassy clods brought forth, and now the tawny lion appeared half through the earth, pawing to get his hinder parts free; then springs as if broke loose from bonds, and rearing up on his hind legs shakes his flowing mane: the leopard and the tyger rising like the mole, threw the crumbled earth above them like hillocks: the swift stag bore up his branching head from under ground, and the behemoth, or elephant (the greatest creature of the earth, as the leviathan or whale is of the sea) with difficulty heaved up his vast bulk from the mould: the flocks rose bleating, and with their fleeces full grown, and complete in all their parts, just like plants: amphibious creatures, such as the crocodile, (*k*) and all those of whom it is un-

(*k*) *Crocodile*; Lat. *i. e. yellow*; because it is of a yellow colour; or because it hateth the smell and taste of saffron, which is yellow. A huge, voracious and very strong, but timorous beast, in the Nile, Ganges, &c. living equally upon land and water; as our geese, ducks, otters, &c. Its jaws are wide enough to swallow a man whole, full of teeth. It is the only beast that hath no tongue, sixty bones or joints in the back. The upper skin is firm hard, and impenetrable with any dart, spear or shot, no not with a loaded cart; and therefore sealy is a proper epithet; but it may be wounded in the belly. It swims with the feet and fins, which are upon the tail; but is very slow in its pace; because the feet are short. The tail is near as long as the whole body. It lays its eggs in the sand or earth, and brings forth its young every year. Its eggs are as big as a goose's, and it lays one every day for sixty days. It is thought that they live 100 years, and are generally thirty feet long. In Panama some of them are 100 feet long. An alligator, is only a young crocodile. The old Egyptians worshipped this beast, out of fear; or for the benefit, which it did to them: for it defended their country from the incursions of the wild Arabs,

certain, whether they owe most of their original to the sea or land. At once came forth insect and worm, whatever creeps the ground; some of which have wings, and though their parts are so very small, they are as completely formed and as exactly put together as those of larger animals, decked in their summer's pride, being spotted with gold, purple, and all manner of colours; while the worms drew their long dimensions like a line, streaking the ground as they passed along: not all little or inconsiderable creatures; but some of the serpent kind, of wonderful length and bigness, that besides their power to creep and roll along the ground, had wings to fly with. First crept the industrious and parsimonious ant, being provident for the future, having a large heart enclosed in small room: next appeared the female bee swarming, that feeds the drone, (*l*) and builds her cell of wax stored with honey. The rest are without number, and thou knowest their nature, for thou gavest them names; which makes it needless to repeat them to thee. Nor are serpents (some of which are very large, having bright shining eyes and terrible crests) unknown to thee; being (notwithstanding their appearance, and that they are the subtlest beasts of all the field) unhurtful, and obedient to thy call.

Now heaven shined in full glory, and rolled in her motions, and the first great Mover's hands had directed their course. Earth in her rich attire, was finished,

who durst not pass the Red sea for fear of those voracious beasts. They made it also a symbol of impudence in their hieroglyphics. They are scarce now in the Nile, and the people of Florida have continual wars with them.

(*l*) *Drone*; Sax. O. E. A *wasp* or *male bee*, without a sting, who propagates the species, but cannot gather honey, for want of it. Therefore he sits and hatches the brood, keeps the eggs warm, while the female bees gather the honey abroad; and does not stir from the brood till they come home fraught with honey, and so discharge him.

and looked lovely; the air was flown by all kinds of fowl; the water swum by all kinds of fish; the earth walked by all kinds of beasts; and all was full, excepting what remained to be created this day: the master-piece was yet wanting, the very end for which all the rest was done; a creature, who was not to look downward to the earth like the other creatures, but being endowed with reason shining in the human soul might know himself; erect his stature, and with a serene and upright face govern the rest, and thence conscious of his own dignity exalt his mind, and have his conversation in heaven; but yet be grateful to acknowledge from whence his good descends, and thither, with heart, voice and eyes, directed in devotion, to adore and worship the supreme God of all, who made him the chief of all his works: therefore the almighty and eternal Father (for he was here, as he is every where, present) thus distinctly spoke to his Son:

Now let us make mankind, in our image, and after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over every beast of the field, and all the earth, and every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth!

Having said this, Adam, he formed thee, a Man, out of the dust of the ground, and breathed into thy nostrils the breath of life: he created thee in his own image, expressing it in thee: and thou becamest a living soul: he created thee male and thy consort Eve female, that from you both might proceed the race of Man; then blessed you, and said, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth, wheresoever created; for no place is yet distinguished by name. From thence, as thou already knowest, he brought thee into this delicious and pleasant garden,

where are trees, delightful both to behold and taste, of his own planting; and freely gave thee all their pleasant fruits for food; (for here is a variety without end, all sorts that the earth yields) but of the tree, which being tasted gives the knowledge of good and evil, thou mayest not eat; for in the day that thou eatest, thou diest; it is Death is the punishment decreed: beware! and govern thy appetite well, lest Sin, and her sure attendant Death, surprise thee.

Here God finished the creation, and viewed all that he had made, and behold! all was entirely good; and the evening and the morning were the sixth day. God, the Creator, desisting from his work, though not wearied, returned up to his high abode the heaven of heavens, to behold from thence this new created world, being a new addition to his empire, how good and how fair it shewed in prospect from his throne, answering his great idea; he rode up, followed with acclamations, the symphonious sounds of ten thousand harps, that tuned angelical harmony: (thou mayest remember for thou heardest.) The earth and the air resounded, and heaven and all the constellations echoed to them; the planets as it were stood listening, while God and the angels ascended with joy and great pomp. They sung aloud, ‘Open ye everlasting gates! open ye heavens your living doors! let in the great Creator, magnificently returned from his work of six days, and that work is a world: open, and henceforth open often! for God will vouchsafe (being pleased with the actions of just men) often to visit their dwellings, and with frequent intercourse will send thither his angels, upon messages of grace.’

Thus the glorious angels sung, as they ascended with the Creator into heaven: the Son of God led directly the way through heaven to the eternal mansion of God. Now the seventh evening arose in Eden, for the sun

was set, and twilight foreruning the night came on from the earth; when he arrived at the holy mount of heaven, the imperial throne of God, which is fixed firm for ever and sure, where he sat him down with his great Father: for he also went invisible, though he stayed (such privilege hath omnipresence) for he ordained the work, being the author and end of all things; and now resting from his work, he blessed and hallowed the seventh day: but it was not kept in silence; the harp did not rest, the solemn pipe and dulcimer, all sorts of organs, and all stringed instruments played soft tunes, intermixed with joyful chorus, or voice of single song: clouds of incense, smoking censers of gold hid the mountain; and the song which they sung was of the creation, the work of six days.

Great are thy works! they cried, O infinite Jehovah! and very great thy power! what thought can comprehend thee, or what tongue relate thee! greater now in thy return, than from the expulsion of the rebelling angels: that day thy thunders made thee great; but to create is greater than to destroy that which is already created. Who can lessen thee, thou mighty King! or set limits to thy power? thou hast easily repelled the proud attempt of the apostate spirits; while they impiously thought to diminish thy glory, and draw from thee the number of thy worshippers! who endeavours to weaken thee, serves against his own purpose, the more to manifest thy might: thou makest use of his evil, from whence to create more good, of which this new made world, which is like another heaven, is proof; not far from the gates of heaven, founded in the great space, with numerous stars, and every star perhaps destined to be a habitable world; but thou knowest their seasons: among these earth circumfused with the ocean, the seat of men, and their pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happy men, and happy the sons of men,

whom God hath advanced thus! created in his image to dwell there, and worship him, and given him as a reward to rule over his works on earth, in sea, or the air, and to multiply a race of worshippers, that may be holy and just: thrice happy they, if they will but persevere in uprightness, and know their own happiness!

Thus they sung, and all heaven was full of hallelujahs: thus was that great Sabbath (*m*) kept. And now I have fulfilled thy request, that asked how this world and the appearance of things began, and what was done from the beginning before thy remembrance; that posterity being informed by thee might also know. If thou desirest to know any thing further, surpassing thy present knowledge as a Man, speak, and if it be permitted I shall inform thee.

(*m*) *Sabbath*; Heb. *i. e.* a rest. This was the first Sabbath instituted by God.

THE EIGHTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

ADAM inquires concerning celestial motions; is doubtfully answered, and exhorted to search rather after things more worthy of knowledge. Adam assents to the advice of Raphael, and being still desirous to detain him, relates to him what he remembered since his own creation; his being placed in Paradise, and talking with God concerning solitude and fit society. Adam relates his first meeting and nuptials with Eve; his discourse with the angel thereupon, who after repeated admónitions departs.

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CHAPTER I.

Adam inquires concerning celestial motions; is doubtfully answered, and exhorted to search rather after things more worthy of knowledge.

THE angel ended his discourse, and his voice remained still so charming in the ear of Adam, that he for a while thought him still speaking, and continued attentive to hear; then like one newly awakened from sleep, made this grateful answer:

Divine historian! what thanks or recompense sufficient, or equal to thy goodness, have I to render thee! who thus largely hath allayed the thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsafed in such friendly condescension to relate things, by me else unsearchable, and now heard with great wonder, but great delight; and (as is due) with glory attributed to the high Creator. Yet I have some doubts remaining, which can alone be cleared up by thee.

When I behold this fair frame the world, consisting of heaven and earth, and compute their magnitude; this earth being but a spot, a grain of sand, an atom, compared with the firmament, and the prodigious number of stars that are therein, that seem to roll incomprehensible spaces (as their distance argues, and their daily and swift return witnesses) merely to bring light round this dark earth, this little spot, only to bring one day and one night in all their vast survey, and be useless besides: when I reason, I often admire wise and frugal nature

could act such disproportions; to create superfluously so many nobler and much greater bodies, to this one use; for any thing which appears to the contrary, and and impose upon their orbs such restless revolutions, repeated every day; while the earth remaining without motion (that might move better, and in far less compass) being attended by bodies more noble than herself, attains her end, and does not move at all, and receives as tribute her warmth and light, brought to her from such great distance, and with such incredible swiftness, as is not to be described.

Our first father spoke thus, and seemed by his countenance entering into abstruse and studious thoughts; which when Eve perceived, she rose from her seat, where she sat at some distance, though in sight, and (with lowliness; yet with such dignity and grace, as whoever saw could not but wish she would stay) went forth among her fruits and flowers to see how they throve; for they were her nursery, budding and blooming under her tendance and care. Yet she did not go, as not being delighted with such discourse, or that her ear was not capable of hearing arguments upon the highest subjects, but she reserved such pleasure when Adam should relate it to her, when they should be by themselves; she preferred her husband to be the relater before the angel, and chose rather to ask of him; she new he would mix his discourse with agreeable digressions, and solve high dispute with conjugal caresses; for it was not words alone from his lips that pleased her. (When meet now pairs so joined in love and mutual honour?) she went forth with a demeanour like a goddess, and not unattended, for a pomp of winning graces waited on her as a queen, and created desire in all eyes, to wish to have her still in sight. And Raphael made this benevolent reply to the doubt proposed by Adam.

I do not blame thee for inquiring or searching, for heaven is as the book of God set before thee, wherein thou mayest read his wonderous works, and learn his seasons, hours, days, months, or years. To attain this, if thou judge aright, it signifies nothing to know whether heaven moves, or the earth; the rest the great Architect did wisely to conceal from Man or angel; and not divulge his secrets to be canvassed by them, who ought only to admire: or if they have a mind to conjecture, he hath left his fabric of the heavens to their disputes, perhaps to see the weakness of their strange opinions hereafter; when they come to model heaven, and to compute the motions, distance, and situation of the stars, how they will govern the mighty frame; how build, unbuild, and contrive to save appearances; (a) how incumber the sphere with centric and excentric, with cycle (b) and epicycle, (c) orb (d) within orb: thus I guess already by thy reasoning, who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest, that bright and greater bodies should not serve the lesser that are not bright,

(a) *Appearances*; Fr. Lat. An astrolog. term. The risings, motions, places and influences of the planets. Here is a strong and pleasant confutation of judiciary astrology, with some of its absurd terms, by way of a digression.

(b) *Cycle*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a circle. An astrol. term. A continual revolution of planets, which goeth on from the first number to the last without any interruption; and then returns to the last, as the cycle of the sun, &c.

(c) *Epicycle*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* a circle above a circle. An astrolog. term. A lesser circle, whose centre is in the circumference of the greater circle, *i. e.* one cycle within another, or orb in orb, as planets, having their centre different from the centre of the earth, &c.

(d) *Orb*; Fr. Lat. An astron. term. An hollow sphere or globe, used by astronomers and astrologers to demonstrate the motions, and distances of places. Globes or spheres were first invented by Archimedes, an excellent mathematician of Sicily, about A.M. 3730.

nor run such journeys through heaven, the earth all the while sitting still, and alone receiving the benefit. First consider, that greatness or brightness does not imply excellence: the earth, though not glistening and being so small in comparison of heaven, may contain more plenty of solid good than the sun, that though it shines is barren, whose virtue works no effect upon itself, but in the fruitful earth; there his beams (which would be otherwise unactive) when they are received, first find their vigour. Yet it is not to the earth that those bright luminaries do their office, but to thee, the earth's inhabitant: and for the wide circuit of heaven, let it speak the high magnificence of the Maker, who built so spaciouly, and stretched out his line so far, that Man may know he dwells in an edifice too large for him to fill; that he is lodged in a small partition; and that the rest is ordained to uses best known to his Lord. Attribute the swiftness of those numberless circles to his omnipotence, that could add to material substances speed almost spiritual. Me thou wilt not think slow, who since the morning set out from heaven, where God resides, and before noon arrived in Eden; a distance not to be expressed by any numbers that have name; but this I urge, admitting motion in the heavens, to shew that invalid which moved thee to doubt it; not that I affirm it to be so, though it seems so to thee, who hast thy dwelling upon earth. God being minded to remove his ways from human sense, placed heaven so far from earth, that if earthly sight should presume to pry, it might err in things that are too high, and gain no advantage. What if the sun should be the centre to the world, and other stars, incited by their own and his attractive virtue, move about him in various circles? in six of them thou seest their wandering course, sometimes high, sometimes low; then hid, then progressive; then going backwards, or

standing still; (that is, in appearance) and what if the seventh to these, this planet the earth (seemingly so stedfast) hath three (*e*) different motions insensibly? which else thou must ascribe to several spheres, moved contrarywise and with indirect motions: or save the sun his labour, and that swift daily and nightly revolution supposed invisible about the stars; which has no need of thy belief, if the earth moving towards the east bring the day, and her other opposite part turning from the sun meet night: what if earth's light, sent from the earth through the wide transparent air, be as a star to the moon, reciprocally enlightening her by day, and her inhabitants (if inhabitants are there) as she by night does this earth? thou seest her spots like clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain may produce fruits in her softened soil, allotted there for some to eat; and perhaps thou or thy posterity may discover other suns communicating dazzling lights, and other moons communicating weaker lights, each orb perhaps filled with living inhabitants: for it remains very open to dispute, that such a vast part of the universe should be uninhabited by living souls, and be desert and desolate, and serve only to shine; yet scarcely to contribute each orb one glimpse of light, when conveyed down so far as this habitable earth, which again returns light back to them. But whether these things are thus, or not; whether the sun, above all, rise on the earth, or earth rise on the sun; or whether he begin his road from the east, or she advance her silent course from the west, do not thou be anxious to know things which are hid from thee; but leave them to God above, and serve and fear him: let him dispose of other creatures wherever he has placed them, as pleases him best; do thou enjoy what he hath given to thee, that is this Para-

(*e*) *Three*, i. e. the diurnal; the annual and the motion on her own axis.

dise, and thy beautiful Eve: heaven is too high for thee to know what passes there; be humbly wise; think only of what concern thee and thy being; do not dream about other worlds, what creatures may live there, or if living there, what may be their state, condition, or degree: rest contented, that thus much hath been revealed to thee, not only things belonging to this earth, but many concerning the highest heaven.

CHAPTER II.

Adam assents to the advice of Raphael, and being still desirous to detain him, relates what he remembered since his own creation.

By the speech of the angel, Adam being cleared of all doubts, made this reply?

Serene angel! pure intelligence of heaven! how fully hast thou satisfied, freed from intricacies, and taught me to live the best and easiest way! not to interrupt the sweets of life with perplexing thoughts, which God hath bid to keep far off from us, and not molest us; unless we ourselves, with wandering minds and vain motions, seek them out: but the soul or the fancy is apt to rove unchecked, to which there is no bound; until advised or taught by experience, she learn, that not to know at large of obscure things, full of subtilty, and remote from use, but to know that which lies before us in daily life, is the first wisdom; what is more is but a vapour, emptiness, or trifling, and renders us unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek in things that most concern us. Therefore let us descend from these high subjects to those of a lower nature, and speak of things which are near to us, and of use; whence men-

tion may perhaps be made of something, which by thy permission and wonted condescension may not be unreasonable to inquire about.

I have heard thee relate what was done before my remembrance: now hear me relate my story, which perhaps thou hast never yet heard, and the day is not yet spent; until then thou seest how I contrive to detain thee, inviting thee to give audience while I speak; which I can only excuse by saying, that I do it, only hoping to hear thy reply. For I seem in heaven while I sit with thee, and thy discourse is sweeter to my ear, than the fruit of the palm tree (at the hour of sweet rest) is to the taste, though pleasant both to hunger and thirst; that satiates soon and fills, but thy words, endowed with divine grace, bring no surfeit with their sweetness. To whom thus Raphael answered, with heavenly meekness:

Father of Mankind! think not that thy lips are incapable of speaking things pleasant to hear, or that thy tongue is without eloquence; for God hath also poured his gifts abundantly on thee, and made thee both inwardly and outwardly his own fair image: all comeliness and grace attend thee, and form each word or motion; nor do we in heaven think less of thee upon earth, than of our own fellow servant, and we gladly inquire into the ways of God with Man; for God we see hath honoured thee, and set his love upon Man equal with the angels: therefore speak on, for on the day of Man's creation it befell that I was absent, bound upon an obscure and uncouth voyage, out upon excursion towards the gates of hell, with many legions of angels (for we had such a command) to see that none issued forth from thence, either as an enemy or a spy, while God was in his great work; lest he (incensed if such bold eruption had been made) might have mixed destruction with creation: not that they durst attempt

any such thing, without his permission; but he sends us to execute his high commands (as being the sovereign King) to exercise his power, and inure us to ready obedience: we found the dismal gates fast shut, and strongly barricaded; but long before we approached them, we heard a noise far different from the voice of joy, loud lamentations and furious rage, the effect of torment: we returned gladly up to heaven before the evening of the Sabbath, for so we had in charge to do. But now begin thy relation, for I attend, as much pleased with thy words as thou art with mine.

So spoke the angel, and thus in reply Adam: It is hard for Man to tell how human life began; for who knew himself begining? but desire still to converse longer with thee, first induced me to speak.—I found myself lying upon the grass, as if new waked from sound sleep, and in a gentle sweat, which the sun soon dried with his beams. Straight I turned my wandering eyes towards heaven, and gazed a while at the spacious sky; until raised by quick motion, I sprung upward (as naturally desirous, and endeavouring to go thither) and stood upright upon my feet: round about me I saw hills, dales, woods, and running streams, and by these, creatures that lived and moved, and walked or else flew; birds were singing on the branches, all things looked pleasant and full of sweetness, and my own heart overflowed with joy. Then I considered myself, and surveyed me, limb by limb; sometimes I walked, sometimes, as lively vigour prompted me, I ran; but I knew not who I was, or where, or from what cause: I tried to speak, and immediately I spoke; my tongue could readily name whatever I saw. Thou sun, said I, fair light! and thou, the enlightened earth! so fresh and fine! ye hills, and valleys! ye plains, woods, and rivers! and ye that live and move, all ye fair creatures! tell me (if ye saw) how I came here?—not of myself.—Then

by some great maker, pre-eminent in goodness, and in power: tell me, how I may know him, how adore him, from whom I have this power of motion and this life, and feel that I am happier than I yet know. While I called thus and wandered, I did not know whither, from the place where I first drew breath, and first beheld this happy light, and none returning answer, I sat me down pensive on a green shady bank, covered with flowers; there gentle sleep first came upon me, and with soft oppression seized my drowsy untroubled senses (though I then thought I was passing to my former state, that I was going to become again insensible, and forthwith be in a state of dissolution) when suddenly there appeared to me a dream, which gently moved my fancy to believe, that I yet had being, and lived. Methought there came one of divine shape, and said to me, "Adam! thy habitation wants thee; rise, first Man, and ordained first father of innumerable men! I come (called by thee) to be thy guide to thy prepared seat, which is the garden of Paradise." Saying this, he took and raised me by the hand, and over fields and waters, in the air, as it were wafting me along, without stopping, at last led me up to a woody mountain, upon whose high top was a plain: a wide circuit enclosed, planted with all manner of goodly trees, having many walks and bowers, in comparison of which what I saw upon earth before scarcely seemed pleasant: every tree was loaded with the fairest fruit, that hung tempting to the eye, and moved in me a certain appetite to gather of it and eat; whereon I walked, and found all real before my eyes, as the dream had in a lively manner represented to me. Here I had began to wander again, had not he, who was my guide up hither, appeared from among the trees; it was God himself.—Rejoicing, but with great awe and submission, I fell down in adoration at his feet: he raised me up

gently, and mildly said; "Whom thou soughtest I am, the author of all this thou seest, above, or beneath, or round about thee. I give thee this Paradise, account it thine, to till and keep it, and eat the fruits of it with cheerful heart; eat freely of every tree that grows in the garden; fear no scarcity here: but of the tree, whose operation brings the knowledge of good and evil, which I have set as the pledge of thy faith and obedience in the middle of the garden, and close by the tree of life (remember what I warn thee!) shun to taste it, and shun the bitter consequence; for know, the day that thou eatest thereof transgressing my sole command, thou shalt assuredly die: from that day take mortality; lose this happy state, and be expelled from hence into a world of woe and misery."—He pronounced the severe prohibition sternly, which yet resounds dreadfully in mine ear, though it be in mine own choice, not to incur the penalty of disobedience: but soon again clearing his aspect, he thus renewed his gracious purpose, and said; "Not only this Paradise, but to thee and thy race I give all the earth; possess it as lords, and also all the things that live therein, or in sea, or air: in sign of which, behold every bird and beast after their kinds: I bring them to thee, that they may from thee receive their names, and pay the homage with low subjection: thou mayest understand the same of fish, that reside in the waters, and are not brought hither, seeing they cannot change their element, nor live in the thin air." As he spake thus, every bird and beast came towards me in pairs; the beasts creeping near the ground and fawning, and the birds flying low: I named them as they passed, and God endowed my sudden apprehension with such knowledge, that I understood all their natures; but in all these, methought, I did not find what I wanted; and thus I presumed to speak to the divine presence:

By what name, or how may I adore thee; for thou being above all these, above mankind, or any thing higher than mankind, art far above any name that I can give thee, great Author of this universe, and all this good to Man? for whose well being so fully and so liberally thou hast provided all things. But I see none who partakes these blessings with me: what happiness is there in solitude? or what enjoyment can there be alone? or enjoying all things what contentment can be found?

Thus much I ventured to say; and God made me this reply: What is it thou callest solitude? are not the earth and air full of various living creatures, and all these ready at thy command, to come and play before thee? dost not thou understand their language and their ways? for they also know, and reason in a manner not to be contemned. Thy dominion is large, do thou be contented to govern, and pass thy time away with pleasure among the creatures.

Thus spake the universal Lord of all, and seemed in such manner to give out his order: when I, imploring leave to speak, and humbly begging that I might not offend, made this reply:

Heavenly power! let not my words make thee angry, let my Maker be propitious while I speak! hast thou not created me here, and made me thy substitute, and set these inferior creatures far beneath me? what harmony, what society, or true delight, can subsist between unequals? for all happiness must be mutual, given and received in due proportion; but where there is a disparity, one affectionate the other indifferent, the society agrees not well with either, but soon grows tedious to both: I speak of fellowship fit to partake in all rational delights, which is that I seek, in which brutes cannot be consorted with Man; they can rejoice with each other, the lion with the lioness, as being fit-

ted to that end: but it is not so with bird and beast, nor fish and fowl with one another, as being of quite different species; neither can the bull so well converse with the ape; (e) much worse then, and least of all, can Man converse with beast.

To which the Almighty, not displeased with my words, answered: Adam! I see thou proposest to thyself a nice and refined happiness, in the choice of thy associates, and though surrounded with pleasure, wilt taste no pleasure, as being without companion. What then dost thou think of me, and of this my state? do I seem to thee sufficiently possess of happiness, or not, who am alone from all eternity? for I know none, either second to me or like me; much less equal to me. How then have I any to hold conversation with, except with the creatures which I have made, and all those are infinite degrees inferior to me, more than what the lowest of the other creatures are to thee?

Here he left off speaking, and I lowly and submissively replied: Supreme Lord of all! human thoughts fall short to attain the height and depth of thy eternal ways: in thee is found no deficiency, for thou in thyself art perfect: but Man is not so, only in degree; which is the cause that he desires by conversation with his like, to help his defects, or give comfort. There is no need that thou shouldest propagate, who art already infinite; and though but one, art through all numbers: but Man is to beget like of his like, and multiply his image, which requires collateral love, and strictest amity. Thou although alone, art best accompanied with thyself

(e) *Ape*; Sax. A monkey; there are several sorts of them: baboons and monkeys have tails which the ape wants. It is the mimic of mankind: the ancients believed this creature came nearest to the human species of all other animals: but the chimpanzee found lately in Africa, comes nearer by far to the resemblance of man and woman.

in thy own secrecy, and dost not seek social communication, yet at thy own good pleasure canst highly dignify thy creatures, and raise them up to what degree of union or communion thou wilt. I by conversing with the brutes, cannot elevate their natures, nor find any complaisance in their ways.

Thus I spoke, being by permission emboldened to use such freedom, and found acceptance; which from the gracious divine voice obtained this answer: Adam! thus far I was pleased to try thee, and find thee knowing not only of beasts (to which thou hast given right names according to their natures) but of thyself; expressing well the free spirit within thee, which is my image, and not imparted to the brutes; whose fellowship therefore being improper for thee, there was good reason that thou shouldest freely dislike it; keep still in the same mind: I, before thou spakest, knew well that it was not meet for Man to be alone; and no such company as thou then sawest, was intended for thy conversation, but only brought for trial, to see how thou couldest judge of what was meet and fit. What I bring thee next be assured shall please thee; for it shall be thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self, and exactly according to the wish and desire of thy heart.



CHAPTER III.

Adam relates his first meeting and nuptials with Eve; his discourse with the angel.

HE ended here, or else I heard him no longer; for now my earthly being overpowered by his heavenly nature, which it had long stood under, strained to the height in celestial and sublime conference, sunk down, as dazzled and spent with an object too bright for hu-

man sense; and I sought relief from sleep, which instantly fell upon me. Though my eyes were closed, yet my fancy kept waking, by which (being abstracted as in a trance) methought though I was sleeping where I lay, I still saw the glorious shape before whom I stood when I was awake, who stooping down, opened my left side, and took out from thence a rib, warm with cordial spirits, and the lifeblood fresh streaming: the wound though it was wide, he suddenly filled up with flesh and healed. He formed and fashioned the rib with his hands, and under his forming hands there grew a creature like Man, but of different sex; so lovely fair, that what seemed fair in all the world now seemed mean, or summed up and contained in her and her looks; which from that time infused sweetness into my heart never felt before, and into all things inspired the spirit and delight of love. She disappeared, and left me! I waked to find her, or for ever to lament her loss, and abjure all other pleasures: when out of hope to see her more, behold she appeared not far off! just such as I had seen her in my dream; adorned with every thing that heaven or earth could bestow upon her, to make her amiable: on she came, led (though he was not visible) by her heavenly Maker, and guided by his voice; not uninformed of nuptial sanctity, and the rites of marriage: grace was in all her steps, beauty like the stars of heaven in her eyes, and in every gesture, love and dignity. I overjoyed, could not help crying out aloud: "Bounteous and good Creator! thou hast fulfilled thy words! thou giver of all things fair, but this is the fairest of all thy gifts! nor dost thou envy the happiness of thy creatures. I now see myself before me, the bone of my bone, and the flesh of my flesh: her name is Woman, (*f*) extracted from

(*f*) *Woman*; Sax. *q. the womb of man, or the woe of man*; because of the sin and misery she has brought upon man.

Man: for this cause Man shall leave his father and his mother, and they shall be one flesh, and one heart, and one soul."

She heard me speak thus; and though led on by God himself, yet her virtue, innocence, virgin modesty, and the consciousness of her own worth (that would be courted, and not be won unsought; not forward, but retiring back the more desirable) or, to say all, nature herself (though she was quite free from thought of sin) wrought in her so, that seeing me she turned away: I followed her; she knew what was honour, and with yielding majesty approved the pleading of my reason. — I led her blushing to the nuptial bower: on that hour all fortunate stars shed their kindest influence; the very earth, and every hill gave signs of joy; the birds, the fresh gales, and the gentle winds carried it through the woods, and as they flew scattered odours from aromatic shrubs, until the nightingale begun to sing our espousals, and the evening star appeared for the bridal lamp.

Thus I have told thee all concerning my state, and continued my story to the sum of earthly happiness which I enjoy; and I must confess to find indeed in every thing else delight; but such as, whether used or not, works no great change, nor vehement desire in the mind; I mean these delicacies of taste, sight, and smell, such as herbs, fruits and flowers, pleasant walks, and melody of birds; but far otherwise in regard to Eve, on whom I look with transport, and whom I with transport touch: here I first felt passion, superior to all enjoyments else, and am unmoved, except by this strange commotion; finding myself only weak here, and unable to stand against the powerful charm of beauty. Whether nature failed in making me, and left some part of me not proof enough to sustain such an object; or making of her out of my side, perhaps

took more than enough, and part of my strength from me; at least bestowed upon her too much ornament, taking great care to finish her as to the outward show, but less exact as to her mind; for I well understand in the first design of nature, that in the abilities and powers of the mind, which excel all outward forms, she is the inferior; in her outward form also less resembling his image who made both, and less expressing the character of that dominion given over other creatures: yet when I approach her loveliness, she seems so absolutely complete in herself, and so well to know her own proper part, that whatever she wills to say or do, seems most virtuous, most discreet, wisest and best; all higher knowledge loses its value in her presence, and wisdom in discourse with her, shews like folly: authority and reason wait upon her, as one designed first, and not made occasionally afterwards: and (to sum up all) greatness of mind and nobleness appear lovely in her, and create an awe about her, as if she was guarded by angels. To whom the angel, with a contracted brow, made this reply:

Do not thou presume to accuse nature, she hath done her part; do thou but thine: be not diffident of wisdom; wisdom will not desert thee, if thou dost not dismiss her, when thou hast most occasion to have her near thee; by attributing too much to things less excellent. For what is it thou admirest so? what is it so transports thee? an outside? fair, no doubt, and very well worthy thy cherishing, honouring, and loving; but not worthy thy subjection. Consider her with thyself, then value both: oftentimes nothing is more profitable than self-esteem, grounded upon a just and well managed right: the more of that thou learnest to know, the more she will acknowledge thee to be her head, and yield all her appearances of wisdom to reality: she was made so beautiful for the sake of thy delight; so awful, that thou mightest with

honour love her, who, if thou forgoest thy wisdom, will see and perhaps triumph over thy weakness. But if that sense of touch, whereby Mankind is propagated, seem to thee such a dear delight beyond all other; think that the same is vouchsafed to cattle, and every beast; which would not be made common to them, if there were any thing in the enjoyment of it, to subdue the soul of a Man, or move him to passion: what thou findest in the society of Eve above this, that is attractive, human, and rational: do thou still love; for in loving thou dost well, but not in subjecting thyself to passion, wherein true love does not subsist. Love refines the thoughts, and enlarges the heart, hath his seat in reason, and acts by choice: love is the scale by which thou mayest ascend to heaven, but not when sunk in carnal pleasure; for which reason there was no companion found thee among the brutes. To whom Adam, half ashamed, made answer.

Neither her outside, which is formed so fair, nor any thing in procreation, which is common to all kinds (though I think of the marriage bed with a higher and more mysterious reverence) delight me so much as those graceful actions, those many decencies, that daily result from all she does and says; mixed with love and sweet compliance, which declare an unfeigned union of mind, or that there is in us both but one soul; which harmony in a wedded pair, is more grateful than music to the ear. Yet these subject me not; I discover to thee what I feel inwardly from thence, but I am not therefore overcome: I meet with various objects, variously represented through the senses to the mind; yet still being free, I approve the best, and follow what I approve. Thou blamest me not to love, for thou sayest that love leads up to heaven, that it is both the way and the guide; then bear with me, if what I ask is lawful: do not the spirits of heaven love? how do they express it? is it only by their looks? or do they mix

their pure emanations? do they touch by influence, or sensibly as we do one another?

To whom the angel, with a smile that glowed rosy upon his face (the proper hue of love) made answer: Let it suffice thee, that thou knowest that we are happy, and without love there is no happiness. Whatever thou enjoyest pure in the body (and thou wert created pure) we enjoy more eminently; and find no obstacle, no exclusive bars of joint, membrane, or limb: if spirits embrace, they mix totally; easier than air with air; union and commixture of pure with pure; alike kindled with desire; nor need any of the restrained conveyances of the senses or passions, as flesh does with flesh, or soul with soul. But I can now stay no longer; for the sun is setting in the west, which is my signal to depart. Be strong, live happy, and love! but first of all love him, whom to love rightly is to obey, and keep his great commandment: take heed, lest passion should sway thy judgment to do any thing, which else free will would not admit of. The happiness or unhappiness of thee and all thy posterity is placed in thee: beware! I, and all the blest above, shall rejoice to see thee persevere in obedience. Stand fast; it lies free in thy own election, to stand or fall: having power sufficient within, seek no help elsewhere, and repel every temptation to transgress.

Saying this, he arose; and Adam thus followed him with thanks: Since the time of thy departure is come, go, heavenly messenger, and guest sent from him whose sovereign goodness I adore! thy condescension hath been very gentle and affable to me, and shall ever be honoured with grateful remembrance: continue still to be good and friendly to mankind, and return hither often.

So they parted; the angel flying up to heaven, and Adam to his bower, to seek for Eve.

THE NINTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

SATAN having compassed the earth, with meditated guile returns, as a mist, by night into Paradise, and enters into the serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart: Adam consents not, alledging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they are forewarned, should attempt her alone: Eve loath to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial of her strength, and Adam at last yields. The serpent finds Eve alone, approaches and speaks to her, with many wiles and arguments; induces her to taste the Tree of Knowledge forbidden: she resolves to impart thereof to Adam. Eve brings of the fruit to Adam, he eats also, the effects thereof on them both.



CHAPTER I.

Satan having compassed the earth, with meditated guile returns by night into Paradise, and enters into the serpent sleeping.

HENCEFORWARD I shall have no more to relate of God or angel sitting an indulgent and familiar guest with Man, as with his friend, partaking with him in his repast, and permitting him the while to discourse innocently without blame. Now I must change to mournful subjects; foul distrust, and disloyal breach of duty; revolt and disobedience on the part of Man, and on the part of alienated heaven, distance, dislike, anger, just rebuke, and judgment pronounced, that brought into this world all our woe; that brought in sin and death, and all those bitter evils that bring death on. This is a theme of sorrow; yet the subject is great, and more heroic than the anger of Achilles, (a) or rage of Turnus, (b) or that of Neptune, (c) or Juno, which

(a) *Achilles*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. without a lip*; which was burnt, when he was an infant: or, free from pain: because he was made invulnerable, by being dipt all over in the river Styx, except the heel, by which his mother held him. The son of Peleus, king of Thessaly, and Thetis, goddess of the sea; the most valiant of all the Grecian heroes, that went to the siege of Troy. After many heroic actions he was slain by Paris, being shot in the heel.

(b) *Turnus*; Rutil. An ancient king of the Rutilians, who were old inhabitants of Italy, long before the Latins. He was a brave champion; but at last engaging with Æneas, for the

(c) *Neptune*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. a washer*; or from *Nephtin*; Heb. and Egypt. *i. e. maritime*: hence Nephtuchim, a colony of the

so long perplexed the Greeks and Trojans; (*d*) though these arguments employed the pens of the two great poets Homer and Virgil: if I might but obtain of heaven a style, answerable to what I have to treat of: or might be visited by that spirit, that often dictates when I am slumbering, and inspires me unpremeditated on such high matters; on which I have had long intention to write, beginning late, and being long in choice of a subject; not taking delight in writing of wars, which have hitherto been the only arguments held in estimation; to relate tedious and feigned battles, fought by feigned knights; (at the same time leaving unmentioned the better fortitude of patience and heroic martyrdom) or to describe races and games, tilting (*e*) furniture, and tinsel sake of Lavinia, was slain by him in a duel; as Livy, Florus, Justin, and Virgil relate, which many learned authors have confuted since.

Egyptians descended from Mizraim, who settled upon the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, Gen. x. 13. Whence the Greeks feigned this fable of Neptune, the god of the sea: and under this fable is included Japhet, the eldest son of Noah; because the islands and continent of Europe, lying upon the Mediterranean sea, fell to his share. So the ancients preserved the memory of Japhet, under this and other disguises.

(*d*) *Troy*; from *Tros*, one of its kings, who enlarged it; an ancient city of Phrygia in the Lesser Asia, three miles from the Egean sea, on the river Xanthus, near M. Ida. It was founded by Dardanus, A.M. 2574. Troy had only seven kings, viz. Teucer, Dardanus, Eryethonius, Tros, Ilus, Laomedon, and Priamus, under whom it was burnt and razed by the Grecians, after a siege of ten years; about A.M. 2766, 432 years before the building of Rome, 317 years after its first founding, and 1183 before Christ. There were no monuments of it to be seen in Strabo's time, and he lived in the reign of Tiberius the emperor. The Trojans made divers colonies upon the Mediterranean sea.

(*e*) *Tilting*; Sax. O. E. The running of armed men on horseback, one against another, with spears. A diversion much practised among the ancients, and first used at the old Nemæan games in Greece.

trappings of gorgeous knights at joust and tournament; (*f*) then describing feasts, served up in voluptuousness and state; which are things too mean to merit the name of heroic. Neither skilled or studious concerning such things, I leave them for this higher argument, which is of itself sufficient to lay claim to that name; unless the world be in its decay, or years, or coldness of climate hinder me from being raised high enough to treat of it properly; nor could I attempt it without the assistance of the divine Spirit.

It was now dark night, when Satan, who but lately fled out of Eden before the threats of the angel Gabriel, now having meditated more fraud and malice, and being bent on the destruction of Man (not regarding what might happen to fall heavier on himself) returned again without fear about midnight from compassing the earth; fearful of being discovered, if he appeared by day, ever since Uriel the angel who was regent of the sun, discovered his entrance, and forewarned the cherubim that kept their watch. When he was driven from thence full of anguish, he kept in darkness the space of seven successive nights; three times he went round the equinoctial line; four times he crossed towards the poles obliquely, still to avoid the sun; in which time he had traversed the whole globe: on the eighth night he returned to Eden, and on the side, where the entrance seemed most difficult and therefore was left unwatched, by stealth found an unsuspected way. 'There was a place which now is not, nor has been since the fall of Adam, where the river Tigris (*g*) shot into a gulf under ground

(*f*) *Tournament*, Fr. Ital. *i. e.* a turning round; a concourse. A milit. diversion. Turning, justling and fighting on horseback.

(*g*) *Tigris*. A Persian and Median word; from the Heb. *i. e.* An arrow or dart; because of the rapidity of its course. Therefore Dionysius calls it the most rapid of all rivers in the

to the foot of Paradise, until part of it rose a fountain near the tree of life: Satan threw himself into the river, and rose up (involved in a mist) with the fountain into Paradise, then thought where to conceal himself: he had searched sea and land, from Eden over to Pontus, and from Mæotis (*h*) up beyond the river Oby, (*i*) downward as far as the south pole; and in length west from Orontes to the Isthmus of Darien, (*k*) that stops

world; Per. I. line 778. It riseth in mount Ararat or Niphates in Armenia, parts Mesopotamia and Assyria, runs by Babylon, and a little below Bagdad joins the Euphrates. In holy writ it is called Hiddekel, or Chiddekel, which comes from *Chadda*, *i. e. sharp*, and *Cal*, *i. e. swift*, because it flows from the high mountains of Armenia; Heb. *i. e. swiftness*, Gen. ii. 24. *The great river Hiddekel*. Dan. x. 4. Now Tigrid by the Turks according to their corrupt pronunciation.

(*h*) *Mæotis*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. the mother or nurse of the sea*; because it is the source or original spring of the Pontus. It is a lake on the coast of Crim-Tartary, into which the river Tanais runneth, and parts Europe from Asia, on that side. In the deepest parts it is not above 48 feet.

(*i*) *Oby*, by a fig. of gram. In Lat. *Obba*, or *Obius*; Pers. Tartar. *Extension, wideness*; because it is a broad river. A vast river, which parts Siberia and Tartary from Russia. It rises from the Lake Oseroy Teleskoy, or Altan Nor, bears at first the name of By, and does not take that of Oby, till after it has received the waters of the river Chatun, twenty leagues from Teleskoy; then it runs directly north, and empties itself about the 65th degree of north lat. into the Guba Tassa Koya, from thence into the Icy sea in six months, over against Nova Zembla, after a course of 500 German leagues. The Russians, since they conquered Siberia, have built about twelve fine towns or forts upon it, to overawe the Tartars. About 150 leagues from the source it is half a league broad, and constantly increases in depth and breadth, and abounds with plenty of all manner of fish.

(*k*) *Darien*; American. A neck of land 18 and in some places no more than 12 leagues over from east to west, upon the river Darien, between the gulf of Mexico and the south sea: therefore the Spaniards attempted to cut it, but they could not perfect it. It joined North and South America.

the South sea, and joins the North and South America, and from thence he had journeyed as far as India. Thus he roamed over all the world, with strict search and deep inspection, considering every creature, which of them might best serve his wily purposes; and he found the serpent to be the subtlest beast of all the field. After much irresolution and consideration, he at last chose him; thinking him a fit instrument of fraud, in whom he might enter, and hide his dark designs from the most piercing sight: for in the subtle serpent, whatever appeared might pass without remark, and he thought to proceed from his natural wit and cunning; which observed in other beasts, might raise a suspicion of diabolical power, acting within beyond the sense of brutes. Therefore he made this resolution, but first stung with inward grief, he burst out into this passionate complaint:

O earth, how like art thou to heaven? if not more justly preferred to it; a seat worthier of gods, as being built with second thoughts, improving upon the old plan! for what God would build worse than he had done before? it is a terrestrial heaven, attended on by other heavens, that move round it and shine; yet bear their bright lights above lights for that alone, as seeming there to centre the influence of all their precious beams: as God is centre in heaven, and yet extends to all; so that being as in the centre, receives virtue from all those orbs; for here, and not in themselves, appear all their known efficacy, productive of herb, plant, and the nobler birth of creatures, animated with vegetative, sensitive, and rational life, which all are summed up and meet in Man! with what delight (if I could have joy in any thing) could I inhabit here? where there is a sweet change of hill and valley, rivers, woods, and plains, with land and sea, and forest, and rocks, and caves: but I can find no place of ease or refuge in any of these;

and the more I see of pleasures about me, so much the more torment I feel within me, that by comparison makes hell appear more intolerable: all good to me becomes a curse, and my state would be still much worse, were I in heaven. But I neither seek to dwell here, nor in heaven, except I could overcome him, who is now supreme there: nor have I any hope to make myself less miserable by what I seek, but only to make others as I am, though worse should be multiplied and heaped upon me: for I find no ease to my relentless thoughts but in destruction: if I can destroy him, or win him (for whom all this was made) to do what may cause his own destruction, all this will follow with him of course, as being linked to him in joy or misery: in misery be it then, that destruction may spread over all. Among the infernal powers, glory shall be given to me alone, to have marred what he, who is styled Almighty, continued six days and nights in making; and who knows how long before he had been contriving it? though perhaps it has been since I in one night, set almost half the angels free from inglorious servitude, and left the throng of his worshippers something thinner. He to be avenged, and to repair his numbers, which I had thus lessened, determined to advance into our room a creature formed of the earth, and endow him (though raised from such a base original) with those heavenly perfections, which once were ours: this he has done, either in greater spite to us, advancing such low creatures to such high dignity; or else his power, which he had of old, to create angels is spent: (if at least he ever did create them, which who knows?) what he decreed, that he effected; he made Man, and built for him this magnificent world, gave him the earth for his seat, and pronounced him lord; and (Oh! what an indignity was that!) subjected angels to be his servants, and to watch and tend upon an earth-born charge. I

dread the vigilance of those who keep guard over them and to avoid it, thus wrapped up in an obscure mist of midnight vapour, I glide and pry in every bush and bramble, where I may by chance find the serpent asleep; in whose shape I may hide me, and the dark design I bring with me. Oh foul downfall indeed! that I, who once contended to sit the highest with gods, and now forced into a beast, and mixed with bestial slime to to become incarnate, and inform the body of a brute, that before aspired to the height of deity! but what will not ambition and revenge descend to? they who aspire too high must stoop as low, and first or last lay themselves liable to the basest things. Revenge, though sweet at first, soon becomes bitter, and recoils back upon itself: let it; I care not, so it strikes him sure, who next to the King of heaven provokes my envy, this new favourite, this Man of clay, this son of despite, whom the more to spite us, his Maker has raised from the dust: then spite is best paid with spite.

So saying, creeping low like a black mist through every thicket, he held on his midnight search, where he hoped soonest to find the serpent: he soon discovered him, fast asleep, rolled round and round, with his head in the middle, full of subtilty; not yet in horrid shades or a dismal den (for there were as yet no such things) but he slept upon the grass, without fear or without being feared, for now no creature was hurtful. The devil entered in at his mouth, and possessing his brutal sense, soon inspired his understanding with his own spirit; but not disturbing his sleep, lay close, waiting for morning.

CHAPTER II.

Adam and Eve in the morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart: Adam endeavours to dissuade Eve therefrom; but not prevailing, at length consents.

Now when it began to be morning in Eden, and the flowers opened and breathed their morning incense; when all things that the earth produces, proving the wisdom of the great Creator, silently praise him; Adam and Eve came forth, and joined their vocal worship: that done, they partake of all the blessings with which they were surrounded, sweetest scents, and freshest air; then consult, how they may that day do all the work in the garden, there was for them to do; (for their work much outgrew the despatch of their two labours) and Eve thus began to speak to her husband:

Adam! we may still labour on to dress this garden, to tend the plants, herbs, and flowers, which is the pleasant task enjoined us, but until more hands assist us, the work grows under our hands, and what we lop off by day, as being overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind up, in one night or two springs forth again, and grows wild. Now therefore give thy advice, or first hear what thoughts present to my mind: let us divide our labours; do thou go where thy own choice leads thee, either to wind the woodbine round about this arbour, or direct the ivy where it may be properest for it to climb; while I among yonder roses, which are intermixed with myrtle, see what there is to set right until noon: for while we choose our task thus, so near one another all the day long, what wonder is it if looks and smiles come between, and any new object bring up accidental discourse between us; which makes our

day's work (so intermitted) to be brought to little, though we begin early, and night comes before we are prepared for it.

To whom Adam returned this mild answer: Fair Eve, my only partner and companion! dear to me beyond comparison above all living creatures! thou hast employed thy thoughts well, and hast well proposed how we might best accomplish the work, assigned us here by God, nor shalt thou go unpraised by me for it: (for nothing can be found more lovely in a woman, than to study the good of her household, and to promote good works in her husband:) yet our Lord hath not imposed labour on us so very strictly, as to debar us from taking (when we need) any refreshment, whether food, or conversation, which is as food to the mind; nor does he forbid us this sweet intercourse of looks and smiles, for smiles flow from reason, denied to the brutes, and are the food of love, and love is not the lowest end or intention of human life; for he did not make us to irksome and tiresome toil, but to delight, and to that delight joined reason. Doubt not, but our joint hands will be able, with ease, to keep these paths and bowers from going into wilderness, at least as wide as we need walk, and until younger hands, before it is long, shall assist us. But if over much of my conversation perhaps may cloy thee, on that account I could yield to a short absence: (for sometimes solitude is the best society, and a short separation causes sweetness at return) but another doubt possesses me; lest when thou art separated from me, something ill should befall thee: thou knowest what warning hath been given us, what a malicious foe, despairing of his own happiness and envying ours, seeks by contrivance to bring us to shame and misery; and watches, no doubt, somewhere near at hand, with a greedy hope to find his wish, and us asunder, when he might take an advan-

tage; for he can have no hope to circumvent us thus joined together, where each in a time of need, might speedily and easily give help to the other. Whether his first design be to draw us from our duty to God, or whether he would disturb our conjugal love; (than which perhaps no happiness enjoyed by us more excites his envy) let it be this or worse, leave not the faithful side, from whence thou hast thy being, and that still guards and protects thee: for where danger or dishonour lurks, a wife is safest, and seemliest by the side of her husband, who defends her, or else endures the worst with her.

To whom Eve, with virgin modesty and yet majestic, as one who loves, and from whom he loves meets with some unkindness, sweetly composed, and yet not without some austerity, replied thus:

Offspring of heaven and earth, and lord of all the earth! that we have such an enemy, who seeks our ruin, I have learnt, both by information from thee, and from what I over-heard from the angel as he was departing, where I stood behind in a shady nook, being just then returned, at the shutting of the flowers in the evening. But that thou shouldest doubt my firmness to God or thee, because we have a foe may happen to tempt it, I must confess I did not expect to hear: thou art not afraid of his violence, it being such (for he cannot destroy us, or put us to pain) as we can either not receive, or else resist and repel it: it is his fraud then that thou art afraid of; which plainly infers thy fear equal, that my firm faith and love, can be seduced or shaken by his fraud: how could such thoughts find any harbour in thy breast, such ungrounded suspicion, Adam, of her, that but just now thou saidest was so dear to thee?

To whom Adam, with healing words, made answer: Immortal Eve! (formed by God himself from Man!) for such thou art, while free from sin and blame; that I per-

suade thee not to absent thyself from my sight, is not because I am diffident of thee, but to avoid the attempt itself, intended by our enemy: for he who tempts, though it prove in vain, however asperses the tempted with some degree of dishonour; for it supposes the tempted not proof against temptation, but liable to be corrupted! even thou thyself, were such a wrong offered thee, wouldest resent it with scorn and anger though it proved ineffectual: then think it not amiss, if I endeavour to prevent such an affront being put upon thee alone, which the enemy, though bold, will hardly dare to offer us both at once. Nor do thou think to lightly of his fraud and malice; he must needs be very subtle who could seduce angels; nor do thou think the assistance of another unnecessary or superfluous: I, from the influence of thy looks receive increase of every virtue; in thy sight I am wiser, more watchful (if need were of outward strength) stronger; for shame, to be overcome or over-reached while thou looked on, would raise new vigour in me, and make me exert myself to the utmost: why shouldst not thou, when I am present, feel the like sense within thee, and choose the trial along with me, who am the best witness of thy tried virtue?

In this domestic manner, and in his matrimonial care and love, Adam spoke; but Eve, who thought less was attributed to her dear faith than was due, with soft words made answer:

How are we happy, if this is our condition? always to be in fear of harm, and always to dwell thus in narrow bounds, straitened by a subtle or violent enemy, and we meeting him single, not endowed with power to defend ourselves against him? well, but harm thou sayest does not come before sin; only our foe if he tempts us, he affronts us with his foul opinion of our integrity:—His foul opinion fixes no dishonour upon us, but turns fouler upon himself: then wherefore should he be

shunned or feared by us, who rather gain double honour by the event, from proving his surmise false, and are favoured from heaven with a witness of peace within, that our virtues have stood the trial? and what is faith, or love, or virtue, that has not been tried in its own strength, and without other assistance? do not let us suspect, that our happy state is left so imperfect by the wise Creator, as not to be secure as well alone, as when in company together; for otherwise our happiness would be but frail, and Eden (to speak the truth) exposed in this manner, would be no Paradise at all. To whom Adam with some fervency replied:

Oh woman! all things are best, as the will of God has ordained them: he created nothing imperfect, or left any thing that he had created deficient; much less Man, or any thing that might secure to him his happy state. Man is safe from outward force, all the danger lies within himself, and that in his own power; for against his will he can never receive harm: but God has left the will free; for what obeys reason that is free, and reason God made right: but let reason beware, and keep strict watch, lest surprised by fair appearances of good, she dictate falsely, and so influence the will to do that which God hath expressly forbid. It is not mistrust then, but tender love, that urges me to mind thee often of thy duty; and do thou often remind me! we subsist and remain firm, yet it is possible for us to swerve; since our reason may meet some specious temptation, made use of by our adversary to deceive us, and so not keeping watch in the strictest manner, as she was warned to do, reason may inadvertently fall into the deception. Then do not seek temptation, which it were much better to avoid; which will be most likely, if thou separate thyself not from me: trials in all likelihood will come without seeking. Wouldest thou give proof of thy constancy? give proof

of thy obedience: who can be sure of thy constancy or attest it, not seeing thee attempted? but, if thou thinkest another time, when we are not so well warned, we may be found not so well prepared as thou seemest to think thyself.—Go!—for if thou stayest, not being free, thou art but the more absent: Go! in thy native innocence! summon all thy virtue to thy assistance, and reply upon it! for God has done his part towards thee, do thou do thine.

So spoke our first father; but Eve, submissive though she persisted and spake last, replied: Then thus forewarned, and with thy permission, moved chiefly by the reasoning of thy own last words, I go the more willingly; thinking, as thou sayest, our trial might come, when least sought for or expected by us, and find us both perhaps far less prepared: nor do I much expect that so proud a foe will first seek the weakest; but should he be bent so to do, his repulse should shame him the more.

CHAPTER III.

The serpent finds Eve alone; approaches and speaks to her, with many wiles and arguments induces her to taste the Tree of Knowledge forbidden: she resolves to impart thereof to Adam.

SAYING this, Eve softly withdrew her hand from her husband's, and light, like what is feigned of wood nymphs, or of Diana's (*l*) train, betook her to the groves; but in her gait and goddess like deportment, she surpassed all that has been fabled of Diana's self; though

(*l*) *Diana.* The daughter of Jupiter and Latona, goddess of the woods, hunting and virginity. The nymphs were her attendants.

not armed like her with bow and quiver, but only with such gardening tools, as art had rudely formed without the help of fire, or the angels had brought. A picture of Ceres in her prime, or of Pomona when she fled from Vertumnus, (*m*) is what she seemed likest, when she parted from Adam. He, with eyes full of affection, for a great while looked after her delighted; but yet he rather wished that she had stayed. He often repeated his charge to her to come back soon, and she as often promised him, that she would be returned to the bower by noon, and have every thing in the best order, to invite repast then, or repose after noon. Unfortunate Eve! much deceived, much failing of thy promised and presumed return! fatal event indeed! thou from that hour didst never more find in Paradise either sweet repast, or sound repose! there was what waited in ambush, among the shades and sweet flowers, with confirmed and hellish rancour, to intercept thy way, or send thee back again divested of thy innocence, thy faith, and bliss!—For now, and ever since the first break of day, Satan (a mere serpent only in appearance) was come forth, and upon his search; where he might likeliest find his purposed prey, the only two of mankind living, but in them the whole race included. He sought in every field and every bower, where any grove of trees, or piece of garden plot lay pleasanter than the rest, that looked like what was under daily tendance, or had been planted for pleasure by the shady banks of rivers, or the side of fountains.

(*m*) *Vertumnus*; Lat. i. e. *the changing year*. A god among the old Romans, who fell in love with Pomona, and to obtain her, he turned himself into all forms. He was king of Tuscany who taught men the art of gardening; for which he was deified. This fable signifies the different seasons of the year. His feasts were celebrated at Rome, in the autumn; wherein they thanked that god for preserving the fruits to maturity.

He sought for them both, but wished that it might be his lot to find Eve separate; but could not hope to meet with what so seldom happened; when beyond his hope, and agreeable to his wish, he spied Eve alone; she stood but half discovered, hid behind, and busied with roses, and other flowers, that grew thick round about: she was half stooping to support such flowers, whose stalks were weak and slender, whose blossoms, though gay, purple, red, or blue, or speckled with gold, being too heavy for the stem, hung drooping down: she ties them up gently with bands of myrtle; at the same time not reflecting, that she herself was unsustained; so far from her best prop, and the storm so nigh. Satan (in the serpent) drew nearer, and crossed many a walk under shade of cedars, pines, or palm trees; then rolling to and fro boldly; sometimes hid, sometimes seen, among the arbours, and flowers that grew upon the borders of the banks, and had been planted there by Eve; a more delightful spot than the fabulous gardens of Adonis, or of famous Alcinous, (n) who entertained Ulysses; or that, which is no fiction, made by Solomon, where he held dalliance with his fair Ægyptian queen, the daughter of Pharaoh. The place Satan admired much, but more the person of Eve: as one who has been long pent up in a great and populous city, where by reason of the number of inhabitants, and want of room to breathe more freely, the air is become unhealthy, going out on a summer's morning, to breathe among the neighbouring pleasant villages and farms, takes delight in every thing he meets with, the smell of the fresh mowed grass, cattle, or dairy, and every sight and sound that belongs to a country life; then if by chance some fair virgin pass

(n) *Alcinous* entertained Ulysses in his disasters, as Homer relates.

gracefully along, what before seemed pleasing, for her sake now pleases more, she most, and in her look all pleasure is summed up: such pleasure the serpent took to behold this bed of flowers, the sweet retirement of Eve, thus early and alone. The heavenly form of Eve, angelical (but only more soft and feminine) her graceful innocence, her air in every gesture or least action, when the devil saw, it overawed his malice, and was so charming that it bereaved him of the fierceness and cruelty of his intention. That moment he was absent, and abstracted from his evil self; and for the time became negatively and stupidly good; disarmed of his enmity, fraud, hate, envy, and revenge. But the hot hell, that always burns in him (though he should be in the midst of heaven) soon ended his pleasure, and tortures him now the more, the more that he sees of pleasure not ordained for him: then he soon recollected himself, gathers together all his fierce envy and hate, and thus rejoicing in his purpose, excites all his thoughts of mischief:

Whither, my thoughts, have you led me! how sweetly carried me into such a transport, as could make me forget what brought me hither! love brought me not, but hate; not the hope to taste pleasure here, and exchange Paradise for hell, but to destroy all pleasure, excepting that which I take in destruction; all other joy is lost to me! then do not let me slip the opportunity which now so favourably offers. Behold the woman alone, liable to all attempts! and her husband (for I can see far round) not near her; whose better understanding I rather shun, as well as his strength, he being of a haughty courage, though made of earth, yet composed of limbs heroic and not weak, and as I cannot wound him nor touch his body, no inconsiderable foe: it is not so with me, so much hath hell debased, and pain weakened me to what I was in heaven, that I am liable

to all: she is divinely fair, and fit love for gods, not terrible; though terror be in love and beauty, unless it is approached by a mind armed with hate as mine is; a hate the greater, as it is disguised under dissembled love, which is the way I propose to take to bring her ruin to pass.

Thus spake the great enemy of mankind, having possessed the serpent, and made his way towards Eve; not prone and waving upon the ground, as serpents are now, but rising from his tail in circles one above another: he had upon his head a crest, which he bore aloft, and his eyes resembled carbuncles; his neck a bright grass green, finely touched up (as painters express it) with gold, rising up in circling spires from his body, which lay and floated about upon the grass; his shape was very lovely and pleasing, never since of serpent kind was more beautiful; not those that *Hermione* (*o*) and *Cadmus* (*p*) were feigned to be changed

(*o*) *Hermione*; Lat. Gr. from the Heb. *i. e. the east*; from mount Hermon in the east of Canaan, where she was born. She was the daughter of Mars and Penus, and the wife of Cadmus, of which the poets made many fables.

(*p*) *Cadmus*; Lat. Gr. Heb. *i. e. the east*: an ancient Phœnician, born at Sidon, said to be the son, rather the general, of Agenor, king of Phœnicia, about A.M. 2660. But more likely he was a Cadomite, about mount Hermon. The Cadomites are mentioned, Gen. xv. 19. About the time of Joshua, Cadmus fled from his victorious arms, came into Greece, settled a colony of the old Phœnicians there, built Thebes in Boetia, taught the Greeks the use of letters, steel, copper, brass and other arts; for which he was highly celebrated. He married Hermione, slew a terrible serpent that lay by the well Dirce, which destroyed man and beast thereabout, and all his own men, but five; and at last both his wife and he were changed into serpents; because he killed one, that was sacred to Mars. The truth is, Cadmus was an Hivite, Heb. *i. e. a serpent*, the restoring his men to life is, to enlist them into his army; the spears of brass were said to be the teeth of the serpent, *i. e. of*

into, in Illyria; or the God worshipped in Epidaurus; (q) nor those to which it was pretended Jupiter Ammon (r) was transformed, when he begot Alexander the Great upon Olympia; (s) or Jupiter Capitoline, (t)

Cadmus the Hivite, the inventor of, or worker in brass; and the Hebrew word, which signifies V. signifies also an armed man.

(q) *Epidaurus, or Epitaurus; as Eustatius and Strabo call it; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. near the bull. An ancient city of Agria, a small region of the Peloponnesus or Morea, upon the Egean sea, built by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, according to Pliny, lib. 6. c. 27. But by Titon, the father of Memnon, who came to assist at the siege of Troy, according to Strabo about A.M. 2976, and so called in memory of Jupiter's carrying Europa from Phenice into Greece, and landing there, about A.M. 2660. There Æsculapius was born, buried and worshipped; now called Esculapio after him: thither the sick resorted for cures. The Romans were directed in a raging plague, to fetch him, in the year 461. The Epidaurians were unwilling to part with their god, in the mean time an huge serpent swam into their ship, and wound itself round in the stern, which they took for the god, and carried him to Rome. There it quitted the ship, and went into a little isle in the river Tyber; the pestilence abated; and therefore they erected a temple to Æsculapius without the walls; and worshipped him under that form. The people of this place are celebrated by Virgil for their useful art of taming horses. There is another city of this name in Dalmatia, near the gulf of Venice.*

(r) *Jupiter Ammon; Ham, the son of Noah, who had Africa for his share. In the sandy hot deserts of Lybia, a famous temple and oracle were erected to his memory, whom the Greeks called Jupiter Hammon.*

(s) *Olympia; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. all night; her first name was Myrtalis; Lat. Gr. i. e. a myrtle tree. Justin. lib. 9. 7. 13. the wife of Philip, king of Macedon, and mother of Alexander the Great: she is said to have conceived, not of her own*

(t) *Capitoline; of the Capitol; Lat. i. e. the head of Tulus, which was found buried there, when they dug for the foundation of it. The capitol is the grand castle of Rome, where Jupiter Capitolinus was worshipped in a most stately and rich temple,*

when he assumed such a shape, to enjoy the mother of Scipio, (*u*) the glory of Rome. (*x*) At first like one who wanted access, and yet was afraid to interrupt, he worked his way sidelong and winding about: just as when a ship brought on by some skilful pilot, near to a river's mouth or foreland, where the wind veers often,

husband, but of another huge serpent. Hence, the flattering Greeks persuaded Alexander, that Jupiter Hammon, in the form of a serpent, was his real father: therefore he marched through the vast desert of Lybia to visit him, which the cunning priest confirmed, and called him, the son of Jupiter. This is related by Justin, Pliny, Q. Curtius, &c.

who under the form of another serpent is said to have conversed with the mother of Scipio Africanus: this temple was begun by Tarquin I. the fifth king of Rome, A.M. 3372, upon the mount Tarpeius, and finished by his nephew Tarquin the Proud. It was burnt under Vitellius, and rebuilt by Vespasian, again under Titus, and rebuilt by Domitian, with great pomp.

(*u*) *Scipio*; Lat. *i. e.* a *staff*. This was Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal, razed Carthage, added Africa to the Roman empire, and advanced it to the height of all its glory: for which the senate decreed that he should be styled, *The best man*. But it was reported, that he was the son of Jupiter Capitolinus, who conversed with his mother in the form of another serpent also. *Liv. Decad. 3. l. 6.*

(*x*) *Rome*; Heb. *i. e.* *high*; being built on seven hills; or Gr. *i. e.* *strength and power*. The chief city of Italy upon both sides of the Tyber, ten miles from the sea, and 840 miles from London; the seat of the Roman empire, and for a long time, the *mistress of the world*; having had the greatest part of Europe, Asia and Africa under her. It was built by Romulus, at the end of the third year of the sixth Olympiad, A.M. 3031; 431 after the destruction of Troy; and 753 before the incarnation, according to the most exact account. Yet it was taken ten times; 1st, by the Gauls; 2nd, by Alaric king of the Goths; 3d, by Genserik king of Vandals; 4th, by Totila king of the Goths; 5th, by Odoacer king of the Heruli; 6th, by Theodoricus king of the Goths; 7th, by Gundebald king of the Burgundians; 8th, by the Moors; 9th, by Henry VI. emperor of Germany; 10th, by Charles duke of Bourbon, A.D. 1528.

shifts sail accordingly; so he varied his motions, and made many a wanton curl of his crooked train in the sight of Eve, in hopes to allure her eyes. She being busy, though she heard the sound of leaves rustling, took no notice, as being used often to have the beasts sport before her through the field, they all being obedient to her call. He now grown bolder, though uncalled, stood before her, but seemed only gazing on her in admiration: he often bowed his head, and his sleek shining neck like enamel; and fawning licked the ground she trod upon: at length his gentle dumb expression drew the eye of Eve to take notice of his play: he glad that he had gained her attention, making the serpents tongue or impulse of vocal air an instrument of speech, thus began his fraudulent temptation:

Sovereign mistress! (who alone art wonderful) wonder not, much less arm thy mild looks with disdain, nor be displeased that I approach thee thus, and gaze on thee continually without thinking I can ever gaze enough; nor have I (thus singly) feared thy awful brow, much more awful now retired. Fairest resemblance of thy fair maker! all things living gaze on thee, being thine by gift, and adore thy heavenly beauty, which they behold with transport! best to be beheld where it might be universally admired; but here among these beasts, in this wild enclosure, (who are but rude beholders, and incapable of discerning half what is fair in thee) except one Man, who sees thee? and what is one, for thee, who shouldest be seen a goddess among gods, and be adored and served by numberless angels, and have them in thy daily train.

So flattered the temper, and introduced himself: his words made some impression upon the heart of Eve, though she marvelled much at the voice; at length, not without amazement, she replied:

What can be the meaning of this? do I hear the language of Man and human sense, expressed by the tongue of a brute? language, at least I thought, had been denied to beasts, whom God, on the day of their creation, created mute to all articulate sound: that they may indeed have understanding I debate within myself, for much reason often appears both in their looks and actions. I knew thee to be the subtlest beast of the field, but did not know that serpents were endowed with human voice. Do this miracle once more, and say how thou becamest capable of speech; and why thou art grown so friendly to me above the rest of the beasts that are daily in sight? this tell me! for the relation of such a wonder will demand due attention.

To whom the deceitful tempter replied thus: Resplendent Eve! empress of this fair world! it is easy to me to tell all thou hast commanded me, and right it is that thou shouldest be obeyed in every thing. At first I was like the other beasts that feed upon the trodden grass; my thoughts were abject, and as low as my food, nor did I discern any thing but that, or difference of sex, nor had I any apprehension of any thing great or high: until one day as I was roving in the field, I chanced to behold, at a great distance, a large tree full of fruit, of the fairest colours, streaked with red and gold: I drew nearer to view it, when a savoury odour was blown from the boughs, grateful to the appetite, and which pleased my sense more than the smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats of a goat or ewe, dropping with milk at evening, and yet unsucked by their kids or lambs: I resolved not to defer satisfying the sharp desire I had of tasting those fair apples; hunger and thirst (two powerful persuaders) quickened at the scent of that alluring fruit, both at once urged me so keenly; I soon wound myself about the mossy trunk

of the tree; (for the branches are so high from the ground, that they would require thy utmost reach, or Adam's) about the tree all other beasts stood longing and envying with like desire, but could not reach the fruit. And now being got up into the middle of the tree, where such great plenty hung so nigh, tempting to gather, and eat my fill, I did not spare; for I never until that hour in eating or drinking had such pleasure. But at length being satisfied, it was not long before I perceived a strange alteration in me, and my inward powers changing to a degree of reason; and though I retained my present form, yet it was not long before I had the gift of speech. From thence forward I turned my thoughts to high or deep speculations, and with capacious mind considered every thing visible in earth or between; every thing that was fair and good; but in the rays of thy heavenly beauty, and in thy divine form, I behold every thing that is fair and good united: there is nothing fair that can be brought equal or in comparison with thee! which was the cause that I came (though too importunate perhaps) to gaze, and worship thee; who art rightly declared universal mistress, and sovereign of all creatures.

So talked the cunning serpent; and Eve, more amazed than before, replied unwarily: Serpent! thy overpraising me leaves the virtue of that fruit in doubt, which thou hast first tasted. But tell me, where does this tree grow? and how far is it from hence? for the trees of God, that grow in Paradise, are a great many, and various of them, which are yet unknown to us; and our choice lies in such an abundance, that we leave the greatest part of the fruits untouched, and still hanging without decay, until more men grow up to be provided for, and help to consume the gifts of nature.

To whom the wily serpent cheerfully answered: Empress! the way is easy and not long; beyond a row

of myrtle trees upon a plain; just by a fountain, first passing one small thicket of flowing myrrh and balm; if thou pleasest to accept of me for a guide, I can soon conduct thee thither. Lead on then, said Eve. He going before, rolled along swiftly, and made intricate seem straight; being swift to do mischief: hope and joy elevated him, and brightened his crest: as when an *Ignis fatuus*, (*y*) (which it is said some evil spirit often attends) hovering and blazing with a deluding light, misleads the night wanderer through mires, or pools; so the serpent glittered, and led our credulous mother Eve into fraud; to the tree which was prohibited by God, and was the occasion of all our misery: which when she saw, she spoke thus to her guide:

Serpent! we might have spared ourselves the trouble of coming hither; this fruit is not for me, though there be such an abundance: let the credit of its virtue remain still with thee; wonderful indeed, if it be the cause of such effects! but we neither may taste of this tree, nor touch it: God commanded it so, and left that command the only one of obedience: as for the rest, we are a law to ourselves; our own reason is our law.

To whom the tempter artfully replied: Indeed! hath God declared ye lords of all things in earth or air, and yet said, that ye shall not eat of the fruit of all the trees in this garden? to whom Eve (yet without sin) replied:

We may eat of the fruit of every tree in the garden; but of this fair tree in the midst of it, God hath said, ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it lest ye die. She had scarce said this, though but in few words, when the tempter, now grown bold (though

(*y*) *Ignis fatuus*, i. e. a silly fire; and we call Jack in the Lantern, and Will with the Wisp: because it resembles those things. It is a compounded close united body of oily and sulphureous matter, and fired vapours, exhaled from the earth.

with show of zeal and love to Man, and indignation at the wrong he suffered) begins to put on a new part; and fluctuates about disturbed, as one moved to passion; yet with decency, and as about to begin to speak of some great matter: as when of old some renowned orator in Athens, (*z*) or free Rome, where eloquence once flourished, stood collected in himself, and before he spoke, with various motions and gestures won upon the audience; sometimes beginning with a high voice, and coming immediately to the substance of the argument, as through zeal too hasty to introduce it gradually: so the tempter moving, standing or rearing up, thus passionately exclaimed:

O wise, wisdom giving, and sacred plant, mother of science! now I clearly feel thy power within me; not only to discern things in their first causes, but to trace the ways of the highest agents, let them be thought ever so wise. Queen of this universe! do not believe those cruel threats of death; ye shall not die: how should ye die? by the fruit? no; that gives ye life to knowledge: shall ye die by him who threatens? look on me,

(*z*) *Athens*; Heb. i. e. *wisdom*, Gr. i. e. *oil*; from *Athen*, another name of *Minerva*, the goddess of wisdom and inventress of oil; which bestowed her name upon this city; or from *Athis*, the daughter of *Cranus*, the second king of it, according to *Justin*, lib. 2. c. 6. *Athens* was the famous city and university of Greece, on the coast of *Attica*, the river of *Cephissus* upon the *Egean* sea, and once the universal school of mankind; where arts and sciences had their first advancement among the Greeks, under *Socrates*, *Plato*, and many other learned masters. It was built by *Cecrops*, the Egyptian, the first king of it, who lived in the days of *Moses*, about *A.M.* 2448. Before *Jesus Christ* 1556 years, 780 before the first *Olympiad*, 375 before the siege of *Troy*: then it was called *Cecropia*, Gr. i. e. the city of *Cecrops*; and now *Sentines* and *Athina*, corruptly by the *Turks*; as they do almost all ancient names of men, cities, countries, &c. But now learning is quite lost there. The *Venetians* took it from the *Turks*, *A. D.* 1687.

me! who have touched and tasted it, and not only live, but by venturing higher than my lot, have attained to a life and state more perfect than fate meant me. Shall that be denied to Man, which is free to brutes? or will God blow up his anger for such a petty trespass, and not rather praise your dauntless virtue? whom the pain of threatened death (whatever strange thing death may be) did not deter from achieving what led to happier life, and the knowledge of good and evil? of good how just is the knowledge! and evil if there be any such thing as real evil) why should not that be known, since it might be the easier shunned? God therefore, if he be just, cannot hurt you; if he did he would be not just, not God; not feared then, nor obeyed; nor is it pain that you yourselves are afraid of, but death. Why then was this forbid? why, but to keep ye low, in awe and ignorance, that so ye might always worship him. He knows, that in the day that ye eat of that fruit, your eyes (that though they seem clear to you, are very dim) shall then be perfectly opened and cleared; and ye shall be like gods, knowing both good and evil, in the same manner as they do: since I, by eating, am internally become rational as a Man; by like comparison, ye shall be as gods, rising to deity from human nature, as I from brutal to it. So it may be ye shall die, that is by putting off human nature, to become gods; if so, death were to be wished for, no matter how threatened; that brings no worse than this along with it: and what I pray are gods, that Man may not become, if he was to participate godlike food with them? the gods as they happened to be first, take that advantage to impose upon our belief, that every thing proceeds from them: now I question it; for I see this fair earth, as it is warmed by the sun, productive of every kind; but I see them produce nothing: if they made all things, who was it that put the knowledge of

good and evil into this tree, that whoso eats of the fruit, forthwith without their leave, attains knowledge and wisdom? and wherein lies the crime that Man should attain to knowledge this way? what hurt can your knowledge do him? or what can this tree impart against his will, if every thing is his? or is it envy? then I ask again, can envy dwell among gods?—These, these, and many more reasons, prove the need you stand in of this fair fruit; then human goddess! gather it, and taste it freely.

He ended; and his words, full of craft and deceit, found a too easy entrance into her heart: she fixed her eyes upon the fruit, and stood gazing, which only to see was strong temptation; and the sound of his persuasive words was in her ear, seeming to her full of reason and truth: mean time it drew near the hour of noon, which excited her appetite, raised by the delicious and savoury smell of that fruit; which occasioned her to look on it with longing eyes, and at length (being grown inclinable to touch or taste) with desire: yet pausing a while, she first said musing to herself:

Doubtless thy virtues are great, thou best of fruits! and worthy to be held in admiration, though denied to Man; whose taste at once gave eloquence to the mute, and taught the tongue that was not made for speech, to speak thy praise. He also, who forbids us thy use, does not conceal thy praise from us, naming thee the tree of knowledge, both of good and evil: then forbids us to taste! but his forbidding only commends thee the more, while it acknowledges the good thou wouldst communicate to us, and discovers to us, what we want and are debarred from: for the good that we do not know, surely we have not; or if we have and do not know it, it is just the same thing, as if we had it not at all. In plain words then, what he forbids us is knowledge; forbids us that which is good, forbids us

to be wise? such prohibitions are not binding.—But, if death should seize and bind us afterwards, what profit shall we have from our inward freedom? in the day that we eat of this fair fruit, our doom is, “That we shall die.”——How does the serpent die? he has eat of it, and lives, and knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns; though he was irrational until then. Was death invented then only for us? or was this intellectual food prohibited us, to be preserved for the beasts? yes, for the beasts it seems! yet that one beast, which has tasted it first, he does not envy, but brings the good befallen him, with joy in a friendly manner to men, without any deceit or guile. What am I afraid of then? or rather, what do I know to fear under such ignorance, of good and evil, of God or death, of law or penalty? here grows the cure of all, this divine fruit, beautiful to the eye, inviting to the taste, and whose virtue is, to make those who eat it wise! what hinders then, but that I gather of it, and at once feed both body and mind?

So saying, in an evil hour reaching forth her hand to the fruit, she plucked and she eat. The whole earth felt the wound, and nature sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe that all was lost. The guilty serpent slunk back again to the thicket; which he might very easily do, without being observed by her, for she wholly intent upon her taste, minded nothing else; it seemed to her that she had never tasted fruit with such delight until then, whether it were true, or that she only fancied so, through her great expectation of high knowledge; nor was godhead from her thoughts and hopes. She eat greedily without restraint, and did not know that she was eating death: at length satisfied, and her spirits lifted up as with wine, jocund, and gay, she thus pleasingly began to say to herself:

O sovereign, fullest of virtue, and most precious of all the trees in Paradise! blest in the power to operate knowledge, until now kept in obscurity, and unknown; and thy fair fruit suffered to hang, as created for no purpose: but henceforth (not without song and due praise every morning) my early care shall be to tend thee, and ease the fruitful burthen of thy full branches, which are freely offered to all; until by feeding on thee I grow ripe in knowledge, as the gods who know all things; though it appear by them, that others envy what they can not give; for if the gift had been theirs, it had never grown here. Experience next to knowledge I owe to thee, thou best guide! for not following thee, I had remained in ignorance: thou openest the way of wisdom, and gavest access to her, though she may retire in secret: perhaps I am in secret; heaven is a great way off, very high, and it is remote from thence to see distinctly every thing upon earth; and perhaps some other care may have diverted our great forbidding from his continual watch, safe with all his spies about him.—But in what manner shall I appear to Adam? shall I as yet make my change known to him, and let him partake full happiness with me? or rather not do it, but keep the odds of knowledge in my own power without an equal partner? and so make an addition of what is wanting in the female sex, to draw his love the more, and render me more his equal; and perhaps (which is a thing very desirable) sometimes his superior; for being inferior, who is free? this may do well.—But what if God has seen me, and death should follow? then I shall be no more! and Adam will be wedded to another Eve, and live enjoying all happiness with her, when I am dead: O it is death to think of that! then I am confirmed in my resolution, that Adam shall share with me in happiness or misery: so dearly I love him, that I could endure all death with him, nor would live any life without him.

CHAPTER IV.

Eve brings of the fruit to Adam, he eats also; the effects thereof on them both.

SAYING this, Eve turned from the tree, having first bowed low to it, as in reverence to the power that dwelt within; who had infused into the plant, what could communicate knowledge, and fit to be partook of by gods. Mean time Adam, waiting for and desiring her return, had wove a garland of the choicest flowers to adorn her hair, and crown her, after her rural labour, as reapers are accustomed to do their harvest queen; he promised great joy to himself, and new delight at her return, which was so long delayed; yet his heart foreboding something ill, often misgave him, and he felt it fail him; so that he went forth to meet her in the way that she took that morning, when they first parted. He could not pass any other way, but by the tree of knowledge, and there he met her just returning from it; in her hand she had a bough of fairest fruit with the down on it, just gathered, of beautiful appearance and delicious fragrancy. She hastened to him, and in her face seemed to carry an excuse, and an apology for what was done; which with pleasing words, that to her were never wanting, she thus addressed Adam:

Hast thou not wondered at my stay? I have missed thee, and thought it long, deprived of thy presence; I have had such anxiety of mind, such agony of love, which I never knew until now, nor ever will again; for I never more intend to try (what I now rashly have) what pain there is in being absent from thee. But strange and wonderful to hear hath been the cause:

this tree is not, as we have been told, dangerous to taste of, nor opening the way to any unknown evil; but of divine effect to open their eyes, and make them gods, who taste of it, and such it has been tasted. The wise serpent (either not forbid like us, or else not obeying) he hath eaten of the fruit; and is not become dead, as we were threatened; but instead of that, endowed with human voice and sense, reasoning to admiration! and with such persuasion hath so wrought and prevailed with me, that I have tasted too, and have found the effects to correspond too with me; my eyes that were before dim, grown opener; my spirits dilated, my heart enlarged, and I growing up to godhead: which I chiefly sought for thee, and can despise without thee; for happiness is only so to me, while thou hast part; it would soon grow tedious and odious, if thou didst not share it with me: therefore do thou taste too, that the same lot may join us, equal joy, and equal love; lest, if thou taste not, difference of degree should separate us, and I too late should desire to renounce deity for thy sake, when fate will not permit it.

Thus Eve told her story with a cheerful countenance; but there was something like dissimulation and shame, flushing on her cheek. Adam, on the other side, as soon as he heard of the fatal trespass committed by Eve, stood astonished and confounded, while a cold horror ran through all his veins, and relaxed his joints. The garland he had wreathed for Eve he let fall out of his hand, and shed all the faded roses; he remained speechless and pale, until at length he first to himself broke inward silence:

O fairest part of creation! the last and best of all God's works! a creature who excelled whatever can be formed either to sight or thought, of holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet! how art thou lost, how on a sudden defaced and robbed of innocence, now devoted

to death! or rather, how hast thou yielded to transgress the strict command, and to violate the sacred forbidden fruit! some cursed fraud yet unknown, of our enemy hath beguiled thee, and with thee hath ruined me: for certain my resolution is to die with thee! how can I live without thee! how can I forego thy conversation, sweetened and endeared by love, to live again forlorn and alone in these wild woods! should God create another Eve, and I for that end part with another rib, yet the loss of thee would ever remain at my heart! No, no! I feel the ties of nature bind me; thou art bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh, and from thy state mine shall never be parted, be it happiness or misery!

Having said this to himself, as one after some sad dismay a little comforted, and submitting, after disturbed thoughts, to what seemed without remedy, in a calm, considerate, and melancholy manner he turned himself to Eve.

Adventurous Eve! (said he) thou hast presumed to do a very bold deed, and provoked great peril, who hast thus dared, had it been only coveting to look upon that fruit, sacred to abstinence; much more to taste it, or touch it without incurring the penalty of a curse. But who can recall what is past, or undo what is done? not God Almighty, nor fate! yet so it is, that perhaps thou shalt not die; for perhaps the fact is not so heinous now, the fruit being tasted by the serpent before, by him profaned, made common, and unhallowed; it is not found deadly yet on him, he yet lives, and as thou saidest has gained a higher degree of life, to live as a Man; a strong inducement to us, as being likely on our tasting it, to find a proportionable effect; which cannot be, except we become gods, angels, or demi-gods. Nor can I think that God, though he has threatened it, will in earnest destroy us in such a manner, who

are the prime of all his creatures, dignified so high, and set over all his works; which as they were created for us, and made dependent on us, must needs fail in our fall: so God shall uncreate his creation, be frustrated in his design, do and undo, and lose his labour, which is not well conceived of God; who (though he had power to make a new creation) yet he would be loath to abolish us, lest the enemy should triumph and say, "Their state is very fickle that God favours most! who can please him long? me he ruined first, now mankind; whom will he ruin next?" which is a matter of scorn not to be given to the foe. However, I have fixed my lot, and resolve to undergo the same fate as thee: if death is to be thy portion, then death is to me as life: I feel the bond of nature within my heart, so forcibly draw me to my own part in thee; for what thou art is mine, our state cannot be divided, we are one, one flesh, and to lose thee were to lose myself.

Thus spoke Adam; and Eve made him this reply: O exceeding great and glorious trial of love, high example and illustrious evidence, engaging me to emulate! but how shall I, Adam, being inferior in nature, attain to thy perfection? from whose dear side I boast that I am sprung, and gladly hear thee speak of our union, that we both have but one heart and one soul, of which this day affords good proof; declaring thee resolved, rather than death, or any thing more dreadful than death shall separate us (who are linked together in such dear love) to undergo with me one guilt and one crime (if it be any crime) of tasting this fair fruit, whose virtue (which at least is some good) hath presented this happy trial of thy love; which else had never been known so eminently. If I thought death would be the consequence of this my attempt, I would suffer the worst alone, and rather die forsaken of thee, than tie thee to me with an action, that might afterward give thee sor-

row; chiefly having so remarkable and late an assurance of thy true, faithful, and unequalled love. But I feel the event far otherwise; not death, but additional life, new hopes, new joys, and new knowledge: so divine a taste has touched my sense, that every thing that was sweet before, seems flat and harsh to this. Taste freely, Adam, on my experience, and deliver all fear of death to the winds!

So saying, she embraced him, and wept tenderly for joy; much moved that he had raised his love to such a noble height, as to incur divine displeasure or death for her sake. In recompense (for such a bad compliance as his merited no better) she gave him with a plentiful hand, from the bough of that fair enticing tree: he eat without scruple against his better knowledge; not deceived in the least, but fondly overcome with female charms and enticements. The earth trembled, as it had done before when Eve eat, and nature gave a second groan; the sky lowered, it thundered, and some drops fell at the completing of the mortal original sin; (a) while Adam kept eating his fill, and took

(a) *Original sin*, is that guilt which Christians suppose to be derived from Adam and Eve to all their posterity. They endeavour to prove it from Job xix. 4. "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one." Psal. li. 7. "Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." Ephes. ii. 3. "Among whom also we had our conversation in times past, in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others." From the degeneracy and corruption of all nations; the natural proneness of all men to vice and immorality; their aversion to piety and virtue, and the perfections and happiness of Adam and Eve, before they committed this sin, compared with disorderly passions, fear, guilt, shame, confusion, misery, mortality, loss of God's favour, expulsion out of Paradise, &c. St. Austin first called it *original sin*.

no thought; neither was Eve afraid to commit her former crime again, the more to sooth him with her beloved society; that now both being intoxicated, as it were with new wine, they became quite full of mirth, and fancy that they feel divinity within them, producing that which would make them scorn the earth. But that false fruit first shewed a quite different operation, enflaming them with carnal desire; he began to cast lascivious eyes upon Eve, which glances she as wantonly repaid; until they burnt in the sinful passion of lust; and Adam thus began to express it to Eve:

Now Eve, I see that thou art of an exact and elegant taste, which is no small part of knowledge; since we apply and refer all different savours to the judgment of the palate, which if nice, we say is judicious; so well hast thou made provision for this day, that I yield the praise to thee. We have lost a great deal of pleasure, while we abstained from this delightful fruit, nor until now have known the true relish of taste: if there be such a pleasure in things forbidden us, it might be wished that for this one tree we had been forbidden ten. But come, now we are so well refreshed, let us seek pastime as it cannot but be agreeable after such delicious fare; for never since the day I saw thee first, and wedded thee, adorned with all perfection, did thy beauty so inflame my sense with desire to enjoy thee: thou seemest fairer to me now than ever; all which is owing to the virtue of this tree.

He said thus, and did not forbear glances or wanton motions of amorous intent; which were now well understood by Eve, whose eye darted the contagious fire of lust. He seized her hand, and led her (she being forward to go) to a shady bank, covered thick over head with thick branches; their bed was of various flowers: there they took their fill of love and play, the seal of their mutual guilt, and the solace of their sin;

until sleep oppressed them, they being wearied with dalliance and amorous sport.

As soon as the force of that fallacious fruit was exhaled, that with exhilarating vapour had played about their spirits, and led their inmost powers into error; and grosser sleep, bred of unkindly fumes, and encumbered with conscious dreams, had now left them; they rose up, not refreshed, but weary as if they had not slept; and each veiwing the other, soon found how their eyes were opened, and their minds how darkened! innocence was gone, that like a veil had shadowed them from knowing evil; just confidence, native righteousness and honour, were gone from about them, and they were left naked to guilty shame. Adam covered himself, but his covering was still more shame: so rose Sampson (*b*) from the lap of Dalilah, (*c*) that harlot he had taken from among the Philistines, and waked deprived of his strength; so Adam and Eve waked, destitute and bare of all their virtue: they sat a long time with countenances confused, as though they had

(*b*) *Samson*, or *Shimson*, Heb. *i. e.* *hear the second time*: because the angel was intreated to come to his parents; a second time, to let them hear of his conception, manner of life and mighty deeds. He was the twelfth and last of the judges of Israel: succeeded Abdon, judged that people twenty years, and died A.M. 2887. before Jesus Christ, about eleven hundred and seventeen years.

(*c*) *Dalilah*; Heb. *i. e.* *a consumer*. Josephus calls her *Dalale*, and the Greeks *Dalida*, which doth not alter the signification of the word. A woman that lived in the valley of Soreck, which lies upon the banks of the river Soreck, Heb. *i. e.* *a myrtle branch*: because many myrtles grew there. This valley was about twelve miles from Jerusalem, on the west, but belonged to the Philistines. Samson's mistress and betrayer, Judg. xvi. 4, 5. St. Chrysostom, Cassian, St. Ephrem, Pererius, Sulpitius, Severus, &c. think she was his wife. But Josephus, St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, Serrarius, &c. believe otherways.

been struck dumb; until Adam, though no less abashed than Eve, at length forced utterance to these words:

O Eve! it was in an ill hour that thou gavest ear to that false serpent, whoever taught him to counterfeit Man's voice; the truth being that we are fallen, but our promised rising false; since we find, that indeed our eyes are opened, and find that we know both good and evil!——Good lost, and evil got!——A very bad fruit of knowledge, if this be to know; this, which leaves us thus naked, void of honour, innocence, faith, and purity, our usual ornaments, now all defiled and stained! and evident in our faces the signs of foul concupiscence; whence comes store of evil, even shame, the utmost evil; and be assured many lesser will attend.——How shall I henceforth behold the face of God, or any of the angels, so often seen heretofore with joy and rapture? those heavenly shapes will now dazzle me with the blaze of their brightness, which I am no longer able to bear. O! that I might live savage here in solitude, hid in some thick shade, not to be penetrated by the light of the sun or stars; where highest trees spread their broad shades, and darken the night! Cover me, ye pines! hide me, ye cedars, with innumerable boughs, where I may never see God or angel more!——But now let us, in this bad condition we are in, contrive what may best serve for the present, to hide those parts of ours each from the other, that are unseemliest and seem most obnoxious to shame: let us find some tree, whose broad smooth leaves joined together, and girded upon our loins, may cover all round those middle parts; that this new comer Shame, may not continually reproach us as unclean.

Adam counselled thus, and they both went together into the thickest wood; there they soon chose the fig-tree; not that which is esteemed for its fruit, but such as at

this day (known to the Indians in Malabar, (*d*) or Decan) (*e*) spreads branching so broad and long, that the bended twigs take root in the ground, and grow round about the body of the tree, from whence they first shot forth; which makes a shade like rows of pillars arched high over, and having walks between; there the Indian herdsmen often shunning the heat shelter themselves, and tend their herds as they feed, cutting a passage through the thick shade. The leaves of those trees they gathered, which were very broad, and with what skill they had sewed them together, to gird their waists. Vain covering, if designed to hide their guilt, and the shame that they dreaded! O how unlike to their first naked glory! just so Columbus (*f*) found

(*d*) *Malabar*; Indian. A vast country of India, lying along the west coast of the Peninsula from Cape Comorin, over against the island of Ceylon, to Canara, on this side of the Ganges; in length about 180 leagues, or 324 miles; but no where above 100 in breadth; and the most fruitful, temperate and populous region in the world. It contained formerly several kingdoms, which in the time of Sarma Perimal, about 730 years ago, were all subject to one sovereign: he embraced Muhammedanism, divided his kingdom among his relations, and went in devotion to Mecca, and died there; but many of the people are Pagans still, and others have embraced Christianity of late, by the missionaries sent thither by the king of Denmark in 1706.

(*e*) *Decan*; Ind. *i. e. the south*. A royal city of a kingdom of the same name in India, belonging to Malabar, in many islands, on this side the Ganges. It has Bengal on the east, the Indian sea on the west; Bisnagar on the south, and the Mogul's country on the north. There, these broad leaved fig trees grow in great abundance, which Milton hints at here: the leaves of the bomona-tree in Peru are four or five feet long, and about two feet wide. Another grows there, which is about twelve feet long and five broad, which the natives use for a table-cloth.

(*f*) *Columbus*; Gr. Lat. *i. e. a dove*. Christopher Columbus or Colon, born in Cugureo, but others say at Neray, near Genoa in Italy. He from his own knowledge in geography, and

the Americans, (*g*) only girt round with feathers; who else were naked and wild among the trees, on islands, or by the sea shore. Adam and Eve having made these aprons, and as they thought in part covered their shame, were nevertheless not at rest or ease in their minds, but they sat them down to weep. Not only tears fell from their eyes, but high storms began to rise within, high passions, anger, hate, mistrust, suspicion, and discord, which sorely shook the inward

from the information of an old sailor Alphonsus Santrius (whom he saved in a shipwreck) discovered America, under the name and aid of Ferdinand king of Spain, A.D. 1492. But it was first discovered about 300 years before, A. D. 1170, by Madoc a valiant prince and son of Owen Guinneth king of Wales; as is related by Lynwric Ap Grano, Galyn Owen, Peter Martyr, Humphrey Lloyd, David Powell, Sir John Price, Richard Hackluyt, Sir Thomas Herbert, &c. which was farther confirmed by the reverend Mr. Morgan Jones, Chaplain of South Carolina, who lived four months with the Doeg Indians, and conversed with them in the old British language. Lastly, that prince Madoc was buried in Mexico, appears by the epitaph on his monument lately found there. See the Gloucester Journal and Daily Post, &c. March 6. 1740. After all the service done to Spain, Columbus was buried at Sevil, with contempt.

(*g*) *Americans*; the people of America; so called from Americus Vespucci or Vespusius, a Florentine, who discovered this new world, A. D. 1497. and five years after Columbus. America is surrounded with the ocean on all sides, and is not contiguous to Asia; as the Russians have lately discovered. It is as large as the three known quarters of the world; for Mexico (or North America) is reckoned by some to be about 23,000 miles, and Peru (or South America) 17,000 miles in compass: that is, if all the land upon gulfs, promontories and islands were duly measured. It contains from N. to S. about 8220 miles, and from E. to W. 6540 miles. Plato, Aristotle, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients gave some dark hints of America; and other authors affirm that the old Carthaginians traded to it. But how could that be done without the use of the compass and other helps of navigation, not known to the ancients?

state of their minds, that once were quite calm and full of peace, now restless and turbulent; for the understanding ruled no longer, nor did the will take it any longer for a guide, but was in subjection now to sensual appetite, who usurping, claimed a superior sway over sovereign reason. Adam, from a breast thus dis-tempered, estranged in look, and in a different style, again renewed his speech to Eve:

I wish thou hadst hearkened to what I said, and stayed with me as I besought thee, when that strange desire of wandering this unhappy morning, I know not whence, possessed thee! we had then remained happy still; not as we are now, despoiled of all our good, shamed, naked, and miserable.—Henceforth, let none seek needlèss causes to prove the faith they owe; but conclude, when they earnestly seek such proof, that then they begin to fail in their duty. To whom Eve, soon moved with Adam's laying the blame upon her, thus answered:

Adam, what very severe words have passed thy lips? wilt thou impute that to my default, or will of wandering (as thou callest it) which, who knows, might have happened as ill if thou hadst been by, or perhaps have happened to thee, hadst thou been there, or had the attempt been made here? thou thyself couldest not have discerned any fraud in the serpent, speaking as he spoke; there was no ground of enmity known between us, why should he mean me any ill, or do me any harm? what, was I never then to have parted from thy side? as well I might have grown there still one of thy ribs, and lifeless! being as I am, and thou the head, why didst not thou absolutely command me not to go, especially going into such danger as thou saidest? but thou wert too easy then, and didst not much oppose me; nay, thou didst permit me to go, approve of my going, and dismissed me fairly: hadst thou

been firm and fixed (as thou oughtest to have been) in withholding me then had not I transgressed, nor thou with me.

'To whom then Adam (the first time of his being angry) replied: Is this thy love, and this the recompense of mine to thee, which I proved unchangeable, ungrateful Eve! when thou wert lost, not I, who might have lived and enjoyed immortal happiness; yet willingly rather chose death with thee: and am I now upbraided, as the cause of thy transgression?—I was not, it seems, severe enough in my restraint!—What could I do more? I warned thee, I counselled and admonished thee, told thee before-hand of the danger, and the lurking enemy that lay in wait: what I had done beyond this had been force, and force can have no effect upon free will. But then confidence bore thee on; thou thoughtest thyself very secure, either to meet no danger at all, or else to find matter of glory in the trial: and perhaps I was also in an error, in admiring too much what seemed in thee to be so very perfect, that I thought nothing evil durst make an attempt upon thee; but I rue that error now, which is become my crime, and thou become my accuser too!—Thus shall it happen to Man, who putting too much confidence in the worth of Woman, lets her will rule; she will not bear to be restrained; and yet if she is left to herself, and any evil ensue from thence, she will first accuse his weak indulgence of her.—Thus they spent the hours in mutual accusation of each other; but neither of them would condemn themselves, and there appeared no end to their vain and fruitless contention.

THE TENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

MAN's transgression known, the guardian angels forsake Paradise, and returning up to heaven are approved of; God declared that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the transgressors; who descends, and gives sentence accordingly; in pity clothes them both, and reascends. Sin and Death sitting until then at the gates of hell, by wonderful sympathy, feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by man there committed, resolved to sit no longer in hell, but to follow Satan their father up to the place of Man: to make the way easy from hell to this world to and fro, they pave a broad highway or bridge over Chaos, according to the track that Satan first made; then preparing for earth, they meet him, proud of success returning to hell: their mutual congratulation: Satan arrives at Pandæmonium; in full assembly relates with boasting his success against Man; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed, with him also, suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise: then deluded with a show of the forbidden tree springing up before them, they greedily reaching to taste of the fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings

of Sin and Death; God foretells the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but, for the present commands his angels to make several alterations in the heavens and elements. Adam more and more perceiving his fallen condition heavily bewails; rejects the condolment of Eve; she persists, and at length appeases him; then to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring proposes to Adam violent ways which he approves not; but, conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise, that her seed should be revenged on the Serpent; and exhorts her with him to seek peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.

CHAPTER I.

The guardian angels leave Paradise on Man's transgression: God thereupon sends his Son to judge the transgressors.

MEAN while the despiteful and heinous action of Satan, which he had done in Paradise, was known in heaven, and how he having possessed the serpent had perverted Eve, and she her husband, to taste the fatal forbidden fruit: for what can escape the eye of God, who sees every thing, or deceive him who knows all things? who just and wise in all his ways, did not hinder Satan from attempting to corrupt the mind of Man, who was armed with free will and strength, completely sufficient to have discovered and repulsed all stratagems whatever, either of foe or pretended friend: for still they knew, and ought ever to have remembered the high injunction, not to taste of that fruit whoever tempt them; which they not obeying, incurred (and what could they do less? the penalty; and having in that one sin committed rebellion, disobedience, pride, sensuality, and ingratitude, they deserved to fall.

The angels, whose charge it was to guard Paradise, ascend from thence in haste up into heaven, silent and sorrowful for man; for by this time they knew his fallen state, much wondering how the subtle fiend had found entrance into Paradise unseen. As soon as the unwelcome news arrived from earth to the gates of heaven, all were displeased who heard it: that time, dim

sadness did not spare heavenly faces; yet, as it was mixed with pity, it did not lessen their bliss. The angels crowded about those who were just arrived from earth, to hear and know how every thing befell: they made haste towards the supreme throne, to give the account, and make appear with just plea their utmost diligence, which was well approved of; when the most high eternal Father uttered his voice thus in thunder, from amidst his secret cloud.

Ye assembled angels, and powers returned from your unsuccessful charge! do not be dismayed nor troubled at these bad tidings from the earth, which could not be prevented by your sincerest care, you being lately foretold what would come to pass, when first Satan crossed the gulf from hell. I told ye then, that he should prevail, and succeed in his bad purpose; that Man should be seduced and flattered out of all, by reason of his believing lies against his Maker; no decree of mine concurring to necessitate his fall, or in the least have any impulse upon his free will, which was left in even balance to its own inclination: but he is fallen; and now what remains, but that the mortal sentence should pass on his transgression?—Death was threatened to be inflicted on him the day that he transgressed, which he already presumes vain and void, because yet not inflicted (as he was afraid) by some immediate stroke; but he soon shall find, before the day is finished, that forbearance is no acquittance: justice shall not return scorned, as bounty has. But whom do I send to judge them? whom but thee, my Son and vicegerent? to thee I have made over all judgment, whether in heaven, or earth, or hell. It may easily be seen, that I intend mercy to be a companion with justice, when I send thee, the friend of Man, his mediator, (a) his de-

(a) *Mediator*; Fr. Ital. Sp. from the Lat. *i. e.* one that is in the middle between two different persons; a manager between

signed and voluntary ransom and redeemer (who is to take upon himself the nature of Man) to judge fallen Man.

So spake the almighty Father; and unfolding his bright glory toward the right hand, shone forth his whole deity on his Son; in whom that glory which in the Father was invisible, was express and manifest; and who divinely gave this mild answer:

Eternal Father! it is thou who art to make decrees; it is my part, both in heaven and earth, to obey thy supreme will; that thou in me, thy beloved Son, mayest always be well pleased. I go to judge those, who have transgressed thy law on earth; but thou knowest, whoever is judged, the worst must light upon me, in the fulness of time; for so I undertook before thee, and now not repenting, obtain this of right, that I may mitigate their doom, which is to fall on me: yet I shall so temper justice with mercy, as may shew them both to be fully satisfied, and appease thee. There will be no need of attendance or train, where none are to behold the judgment, but those two who are to be judged: Satan convicted by flight, and rebel to all law, is best condemned when absent; for conviction does not belong to the serpent.

Thus saying, he rose from his radiant seat of glory, high and equal to the Father: thrones and powers, principedoms and dominations ministering to him, accompanied him to the gate of heaven; from whence Eden and all the coast lay in prospect: straight he descended down: (the speed of gods cannot be measured by time, though it may be thought to move ever so swiftly.) Now the sun was descending towards

persons at variance; an intercessor, a peace maker. Before sin, Adam had free access to God; but it made him so abominable and odious to the infinite holiness of the Deity, that he could not be acceptable, without an advocate and intercessor.

the west after noon, and gentle breezes, at their due hour, rose to cool and refresh the earth, and bring on the evening; when he, his wrath more assuaged, came both the mild judge and intercessor, to pass sentence upon Man. Adam and Eve heard the voice of the Lord God, walking in the garden in the cool of the day, brought to their ears by soft winds; they heard, and hid themselves from his presence among the thickest trees in the garden, both man and wife; until God approaching, thus called aloud to Adam:

Adam! where art thou? thou wert used to meet my coming with joy, and see me far off; I am not pleased that I miss thee here, and am entertained with solitude, where (as it was obviously thy duty) thou used to appear before me uncalled for: or do I come less conspicuous? or what change in thee causes thy absence? or what chance detains thee?—Come forth!

At that call he came forth, and Eve with him, more unwilling than he, though she had been the first to offend; they were both in a state of discomposure, and out of countenance: there was no love in their looks, either to God or one another; but apparent guilt, shame, perturbation, despair, anger, obstinacy, hate, and guile; when Adam, after faltering a great while, thus briefly answered.

I heard thee in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and hid myself.—To whom the gracious judge, without reproach, made answer.—Thou hast often heard my voice and hast not been afraid, but always rejoiced; how is it become now so dreadful to thee? who hath told thee that thou art naked? hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?

To whom Adam, sorely beset, replied: O heaven! in sad difficulty I stand this day before my judge; either to undergo the total punishment of the crime my-

self, or else to accuse my other self, she who is the partner of my life; whose failings, while she remains faithful to me, I should conceal, and not expose to blame by my complaint. But strict necessity and calamitous restraint overcome me, lest both sin and punishment, however insupportable they may be, fall wholly upon my head; though should I be silent, thou wouldst easily discover what I concealed.——This woman, whom thou madest to be my help, and gavest to me as thy perfect gift, so good, so fit, so acceptable, so divine, that from her hand I could not expect any ill; and what she did, let it in itself be what it would, her very doing it seemed to justify the deed; she gave me of the tree,—and I did eat!

To whom the sovereign presence of the Son of God made this reply: Was she thy god? or was she made thy guide or superior? nay, was she made equal to thee? that thou shouldest resign thy manhood to her, and the place where God had set thee above her, who was made of thee and for thee: thy perfection far excelled her's in all real dignity: she indeed was adorned with much beauty, and amiable to attract thy love, not thy subjection; and her gifts were such as appeared well under government, but unseemly to bear rule; which was thy part, hadst thou known thyself as thou oughtest to have done. Having said thus, he spoke to Eve in few words, Say, Woman, what is this which thou hast done? to whom sad Eve, almost overwhelmed with shame, soon confessing, yet not bold or talkative before her judge, thus replied with downcast looks:——The serpent beguiled me,—and I did eat!

Which when the Lord God heard, he proceeded without delay to give judgment on the accused serpent, who for want of understanding and speech, was not able to transfer the blame from himself to Satan, who had made him an instrument for mischief, and polluted

him from the end of his creation; who was then justly accursed, as being vitiated in nature. To know more did not concern Man, nor alter his offence; yet God at last applied his doom to Satan, though in mysterious terms as he then judged best, and thus let his curse fall upon the serpent:

Because thou hast done this, thou art accursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: I will put enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

So spoke this oracle, (*b*) which are verified and accomplished, when Jesus, (*c*) the son of Mary (who is the second Eve) saw Satan the prince of the air, fall down from heaven like lightning; then rising from his grave, having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them, and with bright ascension led captivity captive through the air, the very realm so long usurped by Satan, whom he shall tread at last under our feet; even he, who at this time foretold his fatal bruise; and to the Woman he gave sentence thus:

(*b*) *Oracle*; Fr. Ital. Span. Dut. Brit. Lat. *i. e.* an answer from the mouth; an answer or counsel concerning things to come, given by God to his people of old, by prophets, inspiration, an audible voice, dreams, visions, Urim, and Thummim, &c. which were imitated in the answers made in the oracles of Delphi, Dodona, &c. making the blind heathens believe that they were spoke by the mouth of God.

(*c*) *Jesus*; Heb. *i. e.* a saviour. A proper name among the Jews; the first was Joshua or Jesus the son of Nun, the successor of Moses, Acts vii. 45. "Which also our fathers that came "after, brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles, whom God drove out before the face of our fathers, unto "the days of David." And of many others; but here, Jesus the son of the Virgin Mary.

I will greatly multiply thy sorrow by thy conception; in sorrow shalt thou bring forth children; unto thy husband's will thine shall submit, for he shall rule over thee.

Lastly upon Adam he thus pronounced judgment: Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife, and hast eat of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying, thou shalt not eat of it, curst be the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life: thorns also and thistles it shall bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat of the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou return unto the ground, for thou wast taken out of the ground; dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return again.

So he judged Man, being sent both Judge and Saviour, and put far off the present sentence of death, which was pronounced on that day: then pitying them, to see how they stood before him, exposed to the naked air; (that now was likewise about to suffer change) he did not disdain, thenceforth, to assume the form of a servant: as when he washed his servants' feet; so now, as the father of his family, he covered their nakedness with the skins of beasts; which either had slain one another (as since the fall they began to do) or else were such as had been shed by snakes, or such creatures as change their old skins for new ones, and did not think much to clothe his enemies; nor did he only clothe their nakedness with the skins of beasts, but arraying their inward nakedness (which was much more shameful) with his robe of righteousness covered it from the sight of his Father. With swift ascent he returned up to him, into his blissful bosom, sitting in glory as of old; and to the omniscient Father, now appeared, recounted all that had passed with Man, mixing sweet intercession.

CHAPTER II.

Sin and Death make a bridge over Chaos, and travel from Hell to Earth: Satan arrives at Pandæmonium, and in full assembly relates his success against Man.

MEAN while, before Adam and Eve had sinned, and had sentence passed on them on earth, Sin and Death sat within the gates of hell on either side, opposite to each other; the gates since Satan passed through had stood wide open, belching outrageous flames into the Chaos, Sin having opened them; who now thus began to say to Death:

O son! why do we sit here idly viewing each other, while our great author Satan thrives in other worlds, and provides a happier seat for us his dear offspring? it cannot be otherwise, than that success attends him: had he met with misfortune, he had returned before this time, furiously driven by the ministers of vengeance; since no place can be so fit for his punishment or their revenge, as this is. Methinks I feel new strength rise within me, wings growing, and large dominion given me beyond this deep hell whatever it be that draws me on, or whether it be sympathy, or the force of some natural power to unite things of like nature at the greatest distance, by secret attraction and conveyance. Thou who art my shadow and inseparable from me, must go along with me, for there is no power that can separate Death from Sin. But, lest perchance the difficulty of passing back, keeps him from returning over this gulf, through which there is no passage, let us try (a difficult piece of work! yet not improper for thee and me, nor ill suited to our power) to make a path over the abyss from hell to that new world,

where Satan has now got footing; a monument of high merit to all the infernal host, making their passage easy, backward and forward from hence, or for them to quit hell once for all, which of these shall happen to be their lot: nor can I miss the way, finding myself so strongly drawn by instinct, and this new felt attraction.

To whom the meagre shadow, Death, soon gave answer: Go, whither fate and strong inclination lead thee on; I shall not lag behind, nor miss the way, thou being be guide: I draw such a scent of mortality, prey innumerable! and taste the savour of Death from all things that lie there: nor shall I be wanting to the work thou art taking in hand, but give all the assistance that lies in my power. And so saying, he snuffed with great delight the smell of the mortal change upon earth: as when a flock of ravenous birds of prey come flying against the day of battle, where armies lie encamped, though from the distance of many a league, drawn by the scent of living carcasses, designed for death the next day in bloody war; so the grim king of terrors snuffed and turned up his nostrils into the tainted air, smelling his prey from afar. Then both he and Sin flew different ways from out the gates of hell, into the waste, wild, and confused Chaos; damp and dark; and with power (for their power was great) hovering upon the waters, drove, crowded together (as if it were tossed up and down in a raging sea) all that they met with, solid or slimy, driving it in shoals on each side, towards the mouth of hell: as when two polar winds, blowing adverse upon the Cronian (*i*) sea, drive toge-

(*i*) *Cronian*, of Cronos or Cronus; Lat. Gr. *i. e. time*. A name of Saturn, the god of time and all cold things. Here, the Frozen Northern ocean, under the influence of the planet Saturn; which is a cold planet, according to the astrologers; being far from us.

ther mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way beyond Petsora, (*k*) eastward to the rich coast of Cathay (*l*). Death smote what they had gathered together with his petrifying mace, and fixed as firm as Delos now is fixed, which was said once to have floated; the rest the rigour of his look bound: they fastened all with slime, broad as the gate, and deep as the bottom of hell, and built an immense and high arched pile over the foaming deep; a bridge of prodigious length, joining to the wall of this world, now defenceless and forfeited to Death: from hence making a broad, easy, inoffensive passage down to hell: so (if great things may be compared to small) Xerxes, (*m*) to bring under subjection

(*k*) *Petsora* or *Petzorka*; Russ. A province in the north of Muscovy, under the Arctic circle upon the Icy sea, on the west side of the river Oby; so called from the capital city, which standeth in a lake of the same name; there is a river so called, which falleth into that ocean, at the mouth of the Waygats. It borders upon Siberia. The Russians call a vast range of mountains near to it *Zimno Lipias*, i. e. *the belt or girdle of the world*, which they imagine to be the extremes of it.

(*l*) *Cathay* or *Catae*. A province of Tartary, having the Frozen ocean on the north, and China on the south. It is called *Cara Kitaia* and *Ava*, by the Tartars, i. e. *black China*; because the inhabitants were sun-burnt; whereas those of China, at least in the northern provinces, are white. It consisted of the six northern provinces of China, so called from the ancient Cati of Tartary, who conquered China, and established Cathay for the seat of their empire; then Pekin or Cambalu became the royal city, and the whole empire of China went under that denomination by the Tartars, who conquered it; though it had been the most ancient empire, and lasted the longest of any upon earth, A.D. 1278. These places and names were first made known to the Europeans from the Saracens, who began a long and bloody war with the Tartars, A.D. 1616. ended in the conquest of China and the destruction of the family of the Taimingæ, A.D. 1644. As father Paul of Venice relates, who was in that war.

(*m*) *Xerxes*; Pers. i. e. *the grand warrior*. The fourth king of Persia, and the first of that name. He was second son of Da-

the liberty of Greece, come from the royal palace of Susa (*n*) to the sea, and making a bridge over the Hellespont, (*o*) joined Europe (*p*) to Asia; (*q*) of whom it

rius, *i. e.* the *Avenger*; (Ahasuerus is his scriptural name) *i. e.* one that defeats the schemes of another man, and nephew of Cyrus the Great (*i. e.* the sun.) Xerxes reduced Egypt, and in the fifth year of his reign, set out from Susa with the most numerous and formidable army that ever the world saw before or since, to invade Greece: which amounted to five millions of souls and above. *Herodot. l. 7. c. 187. A. M. 3470.* But was shamefully defeated, and hardly escaped with his life, in a little cock-boat. A just chastisement for his insolence. He is called Ahasuerus, Esther *i.*

(*n*) *Susa*; Heb. *i. e.* a *lily*: because many lilies grow thereabout. So Jericho is called the city of Palm trees, Deut. xxxiv. 3. And Florence, in Italy, from abundance of flowers there. It is called Shushan; and there Ahasuerus held his court, Esther *i. 2.* And hence the whole country was called Susiana. The chief city of that province of Persia between Tygris and Persia, and five days journey from the Euphrates towards the frontiers of Chaldea. It was built or repaired by Darius Hystaspis, the father of Xerxes, as Pliny reports; but Strabo ascribes it to Tython the father of Memnon, about A.M. 2750, therefore, some call it Memnonia. It was the seat of the Persian emperors, during the summer season, for many ages. There Daniel the prophet was buried; and Josephus says that this famous palace there was fresh and beautiful in his days. Alexander the Great took it and found about seven millions in gold, and 9,000,000 pound sterling in silver, besides other immense treasures there. Now Souster, Thevenot. There Alexander the Great married Statyra, and made a feast for 9000 guests, and gave to each of them a golden cup.

(*o*) *Hellespont*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* the sea of *Helle*, daughter of Athamas king of Thebes in Greece; which flying with her brother Phryxus, from the indignation of her mother-in-law, perished there. It is a narrow sea between the Propontis or White sea, and the head of the Archipelago, not above ten or twelve leagues in length, at the mouth it is a large league and a half broad, and at the narrowest about seven furlongs over. It is the entrance into Constantinople from the Archipelago,

was said that he scourged the waves, because they broke down his bridge.

and divides Europe from Asia. Some call it the Straits of Gallipoli, from a city of that name upon the west side of it; and by the Turks, the Dardanel, from Dardane, an ancient city near it, in Asia Minor. It is defended by two new castles, which Mahomet IV. 1659, and not from the old castles of Cestos and Abydos, as some have thought. See Mons. Tournefort. Over this sea Xerxes laid a bridge between Cestos and Abydos, by which he carried his immense army in seven days and nights, into Europe.

(p) *Europe*; Phæn. i. e. *a white face*, of a fair countenance: because the people of it are whiter and fairer, than those of Asia and Africa. One of the four grand quarters of the world; though it be least of all, yet it is most considerable now for all manner of arts, sciences, arms, laws and learning in the world, &c. It is about 3300 miles in length; and 2300 in breadth. Strabo and other geographers resemble it to the shape of a dragon, whereof the head to Spain, the neck to France, the main body to Germany. Europe contains two empires, and about thirty different kingdoms. It is parted from Africa by the Mediterranean sea on the south, and from Asia by the Archipelago, Hellespont, Propontis, the Bosphorus, Euxine sea, the Mæotis, and the great river Volga on the north east.

(q) *Asia*; Phæn. i. e. *the middle*: because it (especially Lesser Asia) lies in the middle of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The third quarter of the world, larger than the other two, and very famous for being the original seat of man's creation, fall and redemption; for the first and most renowned transactions of mankind, recorded in sacred writ, and all ancient histories. It is surrounded with sea on the north, east and south, and parted from Europe, as is said above, on the west. Asia extends from the north to the south, about 4400 miles; and from east to west, 7500 miles. Anciently it was divided into the Greater and Lesser Asia; afterwards into five large empires, viz. I. That of the Czar of Muscovy. II. Of the great Cham of Tartary. III. Of the great Mogul. IV. Of the Sophy of Persia. V. Of the Sultan of the Turks. To those may be added the empire of China, which was not known to the ancients; but as large as any of those empires.

Now death and sin had brought the work (by wondrous art, superior to any we know) to the outside of this round world; it was a ridge of pendent rock, which they had drawn over the Chaos, following the tract of Satan, to the self-same place where he first lighted and landed: they made all fast with pins and chains of adamant; too fast and too durable they made it! and now in little space the confines of heaven and of this world met; and on the left hand hell interposed with a long tract between; three several ways in sight led to these three places. And now they had discovered the opening that led to the earth, where Satan had entered; and tending first their way to Paradise, they beheld him in the likeness of a bright angel, between the centaur (*r*) and the scorpion, steering upwards among innumerable constellations, and the sun rising in aries. He came in a disguise, but sin and death soon discerned their parent through it. He, after he had seduced Eve, slunk without being taken notice of into the neighbouring wood; and changing his shape, to observe the sequel, saw his deceitful act seconded by Eve (though she knew nothing of the mischief she was about) upon her husband: he saw their shame, and that they had sought vain coverings to hide it; but when he saw the Son of God coming from heaven to judge them, terrified at that, he fled; not hoping by

(*r*) *Centaur*; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *pricking a bull*. A fabulous monster, half man half horse. This fable rose from a people of Thessaly, who first broke horses to war, and riding upon horseback, drove their cattle before them. Other men seeing them at a distance, thought they were but one creature: and so the poor Americans thought of the Spaniards, when they first invaded them upon horses. Here, an astron. T. a southern constellation, consisting of 37 stars, which is called *Sagittarius*, Lat. i. e. an archer or bowman. It is so called because of its vehement cold when the rays of it cast forth the piercing winds in November.

that means to escape, but only to shun the present punishment; fearing (knowing himself to be guilty) what God's wrath might inflict: that past, he returned by night, and listening, where the unhappy couple sat in their sad discourse and various complaints thence gathered the knowledge of his own doom; which understanding not instantly to be inflicted, but in future time, he now returned to hell full of joy, and fraught with good tidings; and at the brink of Chaos, near the foot of this new wonderful bridge, he met (not hoping nor expecting) his dear offspring, who were come to meet him; there was great joy at their interview, and it increased at sight of that stupendous passage, which they had made. He stood long in admiration, until Sin, his fair enchanting daughter, thus broke the silence:

O father! these are thy great deeds, these are thy trophies! which thou viewest as if they were not thy own; thou art their author and first architect; for I no sooner divined in my heart (which by a secret harmony still moves with thine, joined in a sweet connection) that thou hadst prospered on earth, which thy looks now also bear witness to, but straight I felt (though the distance of worlds was betwixt us) that I must follow thee, with this thy son; for fate, and the necessary consequence of things, will for ever unite us three: hell could no longer hold us, nor this obscure, unpassable gulf detain us from following thy illustrious track. Thou hast achieved our liberty at last, though until now we have been confined within the gates of hell: thou hast given us power thus far to fortify the dark abyss, and to lay over it this wonderful and portentous bridge. This world is now all thine; thy virtue has won what thy hands did not make: thy wisdom has gained, with odds, what war had lost, and fully avenged us for the loss that we sustained in heaven: here thou shalt reign monarch; there thou didst

not: there let him still bear sway, the conquerer, as battle hath adjudged him; retiring from this new world, which is now alienated from him by his own sentence: and let him henceforth only divide with thee the monarchy of all things, parted by the bounds of heaven, which is his dominion, from this orbicular world, which is now thine; or let him try another battle with thee, now grown more dangerous to his throne.

To whom the prince of darkness made this glad answer: Fair daughter! and thou who art at the same time my son and grandchild! you have given high proof that ye are of the race of Satan (for I glory in the name, which declares me the antagonist of the almighty King of heaven) and merit great praise from me, and all the infernal empire; that so near heaven have, with this glorious work and triumphal act, met me, triumphal from my glorious act, and have made this world and hell one realm (and made it ours) one continent of easy thoroughfare. Therefore while I with ease ascend through darkness, over the road which ye have made, to my associate powers, to acquaint them with what hath happened, and to rejoice with them; do you too, this way, among these numerous orbs (which are all yours) descend right down to Paradise: dwell there, and reign in happiness, and thence exercise dominion on the earth and in the air, but chiefly upon Man, who has been declared lord of all; make him first your slave and prisoner, and lastly kill him. I send ye my substitutes, and create ye my plenipotentiaries on earth, having matchless and full power issuing from me: all my hold of this new kingdom depends entirely upon your joint strength; it lying, through my craft and management, now exposed to Death through Sin. If your united power does not prevail, the affairs of hell need fear no detriment; therefore go, and be strong in evil.

Saying this, he dismissed them, and they with speed held their course though the thickest of the constellations, every where spreading their bane: the blasted stars looked pale, and planets under evil influence then suffered real eclipse. Satan went the other way, down the causeway to the gate of hell: on either side, Chaos (over whose realm Sin and Death had built the bridge) beat with rebounding surge against its foundation, which it could not remove. Satan passed through the gate, that was wide open and unguarded, and found the place deserted; for those who were appointed and used to sit there, had (as has been said) left their charge, and flown to the upper world: the rest were all retired farther within, about the walls of Pandæmonium, the city and proud seat of Lucifer: (Satan having been called so by allusion, being compared to that bright star) there the legions kept their watch, while the chiefs sat in council, solicitous what accident might intercept the return of their sent emperor; for so when he departed he gave command, and they observed it: as when the Tartar retires from his foe the Russian (*s*) by Astracan, (*t*) over the snowy

(*s*) *Russian, of Russia*; Heb. i. e. *the head*: or from Rossi or Russi, which in their tongue signifies a collected people, consisting of divers nations joined together under one head; or from Russ, the son of Japhet, the reputed founder of the monarchy. They settled about mount Taurus, and afterwards in the north parts of Asia and Europe; where they erected 12 different dukedoms, which at last submitted to one supreme, called Tzar, or Czaar, Slav. i. e. a prince or sovereign: and Muscovites, since the Tzars established their residence at Moscow, A.D. 1300. Muscovy is 4 times as large as all Germany, but not half so populous; because of the vast woods, deserts and uninhabitable parts of it.

(*t*) *Astracan*; Rus. from the Pers. *Haistherk houn*, i. e. *eight pillars*; being so founded at first. A large and wealthy city in one of the islands of the river Volga, at 13 leagues from the mouth of it. The Russians call that Island Dolgi Ostrof, i. e.

plains; or the Sophy (*u*) of Persia, retiring from the Turks, leaves all waste beyond the realm Aladule, (*x*) in his retreat to Tauris (*y*) or Casbin: (*z*) so these, the

the Long-isle: because it is very long. John Bazilovitz (Rus. from the Gr. *i. e.* the king, and wits, *i. e.* illustrious) took it from the Tartars, A.D. 1554. It stands on a rising ground, 47 degrees northern latitude, encompassed with a double wall, is well fortified. It gives name to a large kingdom of Tartary, upon the Caspian sea; is one of the best cities belonging to Russia, and grows more considerable, by the great trade with the Persians, Tartars, Collmaks, Georgians and Russians.

(*u*) *Sophi*, or *Sophy*; Pers. from the Arab. *Toph*, *i. e.* *wool*: because a king of Persia took that name, from a woollen turban, or vest which he wore. Pure and sincere: because he professed to be of the race of Haly. This is a title of the emperors of Persia from Ishmael Sophi the son of Guine Sophi, chief of the 7th race of their kings, who from a shepherd (by his courage and good fortune) was raised to that throne, about A.D. 1370.

(*x*) *Aladule*: Pers. is the Greater Armenia with a part of Cappadocia; and is so called by the Turks from Aladules, the last king of it, whom Selymus I. slew, A.D. 1516. and subjected it to their empire ever since. It was called Turcomania, in the year 844. When a great flood of bloody Tartars or Turks passed over the Caspian mountains and settled there.

(*y*) *Tauris*, and *Tebris*; Pers. Some call it Ecbatana: because it was founded out of the ruins of that ancient city (as old as Babylon, and called Allimetha, Esd. vi. 2. founded by Arphaxad, A.D. 786.) Tebris belonged to the Turks till Shah Abas king of Persia retook it, A.D. 1603. It is one of the richest cities of Persia, and of the greatest trade in Asia. There is a Medresha or academy in it; a vast number of Armenian Christians, and their patriarch's seat.

(*z*) *Casbin*, *Caswin*, or *Karwin*: a large and beautiful city of Persia, and formerly of Parthia; and situate in a delightful plain, 6 miles in circumference; in the province of Ayrach, between the Caspian sea and Ispahan. Some take Casbin for Tauris the Ecbatana of Media, but it is 65 German miles from Tauris. Here the Persian monarchs resided after the loss of Tauris, till Shah Abbas removed to Ispahan; since then it has declined, but there they are all inaugurated still. The inhabitants are Muhammedans, except some Christians and Jews, that

host lately banished from heaven, left the outermost parts of hell deserted many a dark league, being reduced in careful watch round their metropolis, and now in hourly expectation of their great adventurer, from the search of foreign worlds. He passed through the midst of them unmarked, appearing only as an inferior angel of war of the lowest order; and from the door of the Pandæmonium invisibly ascended his high throne, which was placed in regal lustre at the upper end, under a canopy of state most richly woven. He sat down a while, and looked round about him, he himself keeping unseen: at last, as from a cloud appeared his shining head and shape, bright like a star: (or brighter; being clad with that permissive glory or false glitter, that was left him since his fall.) The throng of infernal spirits, all amazed at such a sudden blaze, turned their eyes that way, beholding him they were wishing to see; and their acclamations were loud and many. The great peers that were sitting in council, rushed out from their dark divan (*a*) and with like congratulating joy approached him; who, making a motion with his hand, made silence, and with these words gained attention:

Thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers!
for such I declare ye now and call ye, not only in right, but in actual possession; seeing I am returned successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth out of this infernal, abominable pit, accursed place, the house of woe, the dungeon of our great tyrant! now ye shall possess as lords a spacious world, little inferior to our native heaven, achieved by me with hardship and great peril. It would be long to tell what I have done; what I have

are considerable merchants. There is also a Madresha or academy for Persian learning.

(*a*) *Divan*: the most solemn council among the Turks is called so.

suffered; with what pain I made my voyage through the vast, unbounded, and deep abyss of horrible confusion; over which, now, a broad way is paved by Sin and Death, to facilitate your glorious march: but I laboured through my untrodden path, plunged in the midst of darkness and wild Chaos, who fiercely opposed my strange journey with clamorous uproar, declaring that fate was against me: afterwards how I found the new created world, which fame in heaven had long foretold; a wonderful fabric! of absolute perfection! and therein found Man, placed in a Paradise, made happy by our banishment. Him I have seduced by fraud to disobey his Creator; and (what may increase your wonder the more) only with an apple. He, at that offended (it is a subject well worth laughing at) hath given up both his beloved Man, and all his world, a prey to Sin and Death, and consequently to us, without our hazard, labour, or contention; to range in, and to dwell in, and to rule over Man, just as he should have reigned over all other things. It is true, he has judged me too, or rather not me, but the brute serpent, in whose shape I deceived Man; that part that belongs to me is enmity, which he says he will put between me and mankind; I am to bruise his heel, and his seed (but he does not say when) shall bruise my head. Who would not purchase a whole world with a bruise or pain much more grievous? and now you have heard the account of my performance; what remains speak ye, who are all gods, but that we mount up, and instantly enter into full bliss?

Having said this, he stood a while, expecting that high applause and an universal shout would fill his ear; when on the contrary, he hears on all sides, from tongues without number, a dismal and universal hiss, the sound of public contempt! he wondered at it, but he had not leisure to do so long, now wondering much

more at himself: he felt his visage drawn sharp; his arms clung to his ribs; his legs twining round each other, until no longer supported by them, he fell down with reluctance, a monstrous serpent prone upon his belly; his reluctance was vain, for now a greater power ruled him, and punished him in the shape he sinned, according to the sentence that was past on him. He would have spoke, but instead of that returned hiss for hiss, with forked tongue to forked tongue; for now they were all alike transformed to serpents, as having been all necessary to the bold evil which he had committed: the din of hissing was very dreadful all through the hall, that was now swarming thick with complete monsters, head and tail; scorpion, and asp, (*b*) *Cerastes* (*c*) the horned serpent, dumb *Ellops*, (*d*) and dreadful *Dipsas*, (*e*) and all kinds of serpents: such prodigious

(*b*) *Asp*; Lat. from the Gr. poison; or not extending; because they lay round commonly. A very venomous serpent, whose poison kills speedily. It is small like a land snake, but of a broader back, having red and inflamed eyes, hard and dry scales. Some are above a foot and a half long; others three, four and six foot. The shortest kill soonest. They abound in Africa, kill instantly and without any remedy. See Acts xxviii. 6. And even in Britain their bite is mortal, but not so speedy; but in Egypt they are tame and abide in the houses.

(*c*) *Cerastes*; Gr. i. e. *horned*. q. the horned serpent: for it hath four pair of horns, others say only two.

(*d*) *Ellops*; Gr. i. e. *without a voice*. A dumb and silent serpent, that gives no notice of his approach, as others do by hissing, rattles, &c. So no creature can avoid it.

(*e*) *Dipsas*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *thirst*. And also *Causan*; Gr. i. e. *burning*. A serpent with a great neck and black back, less than a viper, but more venomous and quicker in killing: it is in Lybia, Syria, and other hot regions. The poison of it is vastly hot, dries up the blood, and infects every creature which it stings, with a most vehement heat and thirst, unquenchable and incurable, whereof they die quickly.

numbers as never were seen in Ophiusa, (*f*) or other place more infested with them: but still Satan amidst them was the largest of all, being now grown a dragon, larger than that the sun was feigned to have engendered in the Pythian vale on slime, and was called huge Python; and he seemed still to retain his power above the rest. They all followed him rushing forth to the open field, where the rest of that revolted rout that were fallen from heaven stood in their station, drawn up in array, exalted in their expectation, when they should see their glorious chief come forth in triumph. They saw (but it was a sight quite different) a crowd of ugly serpents: horror at once fell on them, and horrid sympathy; for what they saw they felt themselves now changing; down fell their arms, spear and shield, and they as fast; and renewed the dire hiss, and caught the dire form by contagion; alike in punishment, as in their crime. Thus the applause they meant was turned to an exploding hiss, and their designed triumph to shame, cast upon themselves from their own mouths.

Hard by there stood a grove, which sprung up at the time of their transformation (such was the will of him who reigns in heaven!) to aggravate their patience, which was laden with fruit like that which grew in Paradise, and was the bait the tempter had used to catch Eve: on that strange prospect they earnestly fixed their eyes, imagining, that for one forbidden tree there was now such a multitude, to work them further misery or shame: yet, parched with burning thirst and fierce hunger, could not abstain, though they were sent

(*f*) *Ophiusa*; Gr. and *Colubraria*, Lat. *i. e.* the serpentine island; because it is much infested with serpents, of which there are three most remarkable, *viz.* two in the Mediterranean sea, and one in the Propontis, near Constantinople, which the inhabitants quitted for fear of these vermin. Some say Cyprus was one of the two.

only to delude them; but on they rolled in heaps, and climbing up the trees, sat thicker than those, which are feigned to dress the heads of the Furies: they greedily plucked the fruit, fair to the sight, like that which grew near the sea of Sodom; (*g*) though this more delusive, did not deceive the touch but the taste: they fondly thinking to allay their appetite with a good gust, instead of fruit chewed only bitter ashes, which the offended taste rejected with dislike; often they tried, hunger and thirst constraining them, and were as often tormented with the hateful disrelish, writhing their jaws about that were filled with soot and cinders. Thus they often fell into the same illusion; not as Man, whom they triumphed over, who fell but once; thus were they plagued and worn with famine, and with long and continual hissing, until by permission thy resumed their lost shape: yet some say that every year for a certain number of days, they are enjoined to undergo this humbling, to dash their pride and joy for seducing Man. However, they dispersed some tradition among the heathen, of the purchase they had got; and fabled how the serpent, whom they called Ophion, (*h*) with Eurynome, (*i*) (who encroached on

(*g*) The sea of *Sodom*. Josephus says, the apples of Sodom were very fair and pleasant to the sight; but when touched they flew into smoke and ashes.

(*h*) *Ophion*; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *a serpent*. One of the companions of Cadmus, who sprung out of the teeth of that serpent, which Cadmus slew. Others make him to have been one of the Titans, the husband of Eurynome, possessed of the government of all things; the ancientest of all the gods who reigned on Olympus, long before Saturn and Jupiter dethroned him and his wife.

(*i*) *Eurynome*; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *ruling wide, encroaching*. The daughter of Oceanus, and wife of Ophion, which encroached on her husband, and ruined her posterity. Under this fable the heathens couched Adam and Eve, and their expulsion out of Paradise.

her husband, and ruined his posterity) had first the rule of high Olympus; that they were driven thence by Saturn and Ops, (*k*) before the Dictean (*l*) Jove was yet born.

CHAPTER III.

The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretells the final victory over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the present commands several alterations to be made in the elements.

MEAN while the hellish offspring of Satan arrived too soon in Paradise; Sin, who was there potentially before the fall (there being a possibility of it, and actually when the transgression was) but now appears in person to dwell and take possession: behind her came Death, (*m*) following close, step for step, not

(*k*) *Ops*; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *riches*. The daughter of heaven and earth, the sister and wife of Saturn. The Greeks called her also Rhea, i. e. flowing with wealth. Ops is the earth, out of which all riches are produced. Or Eve, the sister and wife of Adam, the Saturn of the heathens; for she came out of the same womb, i. e. the earth, and was expelled Paradise.

(*l*) *Dictean*, of *Dictea*, Lat. Gr. i. e. *a place of nets and fishermen*. A city and mountain in Crete, between Gnosus and Samois, now called Cassiti; where Jupiter was nursed. It was so called from Dictymna, one of Diana's companions in hunting, which first found out fishing nets, and was worshipped there; and from the fishermen who lived there.

(*m*) *Death* is so described Rev. vi. 8. ‘And I looked, and behold a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death; and hell followed with him; and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.’

yet mounted on his pale horse: to whom Sin began to speak thus:

All-conquering Death! and the second that sprung from Satan! what dost thou now think of our empire? though obtained with difficulty, is not it far better than still to have sat watching at hell's dark threshold? to be neither named nor feared, and thou to remain half starved?

To whom the monster, that Sin brought into the world, soon answered: Alike to me, who pine with eternal hunger, is hell, or Paradise, or heaven; that place is best for me, where I may meet with most prey; which here, though plentiful, seems all too little to stuff this maw, this vast corps, which has been so long kept hungry, and has room for all.

To whom Sin, his incestuous mother, thus replied: Do thou therefore feed first upon these herbs, and fruits, and flowers; next upon every beast, and fish, and fowl; (and sure these are no coarse morsels!) and then devour unspared whatever the scythe of Time mows down; until I, residing in Man, quite through the race, infect all his thoughts, looks, words, and actions, and season him for thy last and sweetest prey.

Having said this, they each betook them their several way, both bent to destroy, or render things of all kinds perishable or liable to mortality; and sooner or later ripen them for destruction; which the Almighty seeing from his bright throne among the saints, thus to those bright orders uttered his voice:

See! with what fury these dogs of hell advance, to destroy and ruin yonder world; which I created so fair and good, and had still kept in that state, had not Man's folly let in these wasteful furies, who impute folly to me: so does Satan, the prince of hell, and his adherents, that I suffer them to enter with so much ease, and possess so heavenly a place; and con-
niving, seem to gratify my scornful enemies, that laugh

as if I (transported with some fit of passion) had quitted at random, and yielded up all to their mismanagement; and do not know that I called and drew them thither, only as my hell hounds, to lick up the dregs and filth, which the pollution of Man's sin had shed with a taint upon what was pure; until crammed and gorged, and ready to burst at one stroke of thy victorious arm, O my Son, in whom I am well pleased ! Sin and Death at last being flung to the mouth of hell, shall stop its mouth for ever and ever, and seal up its ravenous jaws. Then heaven and earth being renewed shall be purified to such a degree of sanctity, as shall be incapable of impurity; until then the curse pronounced on Sin and Death shall lead them on.

He ended, and the heavenly audience sung aloud hallelujah, loud as the sound of seas, by reason of the multitude that sung. "Just are thy ways, and thy decrees are righteous on all thy works; who can diminish thee? next to the Son, the destined restorer of mankind, be glory; by whom the new heaven and earth shall be renewed out of the old, or else descend down from heaven." Such was their song, while he, the great Creator, calling forth his mighty angels by name, gave them their several charges, as suited best with the present state of things. The sun had first his command to move so, and so to shine, as might affect the earth with heat and cold scarcely tolerable, to call decripit winter from the north, and from the south to bring solstitial (*n*) summer's heat. To the pale moon they pre-

(*n*) *Solstitial*, of the Solstice; Lat. *i. e.* the standing of the sun. An astron. term. The summer solstice falls on the 11th of June, and the winter on the 11th of December; to which two points of the tropics when the sun comes, there is no sensible increase or decrease of the day and night for a little time; it seems to be at a stand. Here the first is meant.

scribed her office: to the other five planets, (*o*) their motions in their several orbs and aspects, in sextile, (*p*) square, (*q*) and trine, (*r*) and opposite, (*s*) of hurtful and unbenign influence; and the angels likewise by God's command, taught the fixed stars when to shower their malignancy; which of them falling or rising with the sun should prove tempestuous. They set the corners to the winds, and taught them when with blustering to confound the sea, land, and air; and the thunders where to roll with terror through the dark clouds. Some say God bid his angels turn the poles of the earth more than twenty degrees from the sun's road; and that they with labour pushed the earth, fixed on her centre, out of her first place. Some say, the sun was bid to turn from

(*o*) *Planets*; Gr. i. e. *wandering*. Here, moving in their several orbs. Here several terms of astrology and astronomy occur, in a continued digression; according to astrologers, the planets make several angles or aspects, in their motions through the 12 signs.

(*p*) *Sextile*; Lat. an astron. term, i. e. *of the sixth*. An aspect, when two planets are distant 60 degrees, or one sixth part of the Zodiac.

(*q*) *Square*; Lat. an astrol. term, i. e. *four cornered*. An aspect between two planets, which are distant 90 degrees from one another, i. e. one fourth part of the Zodiac. It is counted an unfortunate conjunction by the astrologers.

(*r*) *Trine*; Lat. an astrol. term, i. e. *a third*. An aspect, when two planets are distant from one another, 120 degrees, which is a third part of the Zodiac.

(*s*) *Opposite*; Lat. an astrol. term, i. e. *over against, facing*. An aspect, when two planets are distant 180 degrees, diametrically opposite, or directly facing one another, which is one half part of the Zodiac. This astrologers call a bad aspect; which forebodes evil to those that are born under it. Two heavenly bodies are said to be in conjunction with one another, when they are in the same semi-circle of latitude, and to be in opposition, as they are in opposite semi-circles of latitude: the circles being divided into semi-circles of latitude, by the axis of the great Ecliptic.

the equinoctial road, a like distant breadth to Taurus, with the seven stars that are called sisters (which are the Pleiades) and gemini, (*t*) up to the tropic of cancer; (*u*) thence down amain by leo, (*x*) virgo, (*y*) and libra, (*z*) as low as capricorn, (*a*) to bring in change of seasons to each climate; else the spring had smiled

(*t*) *Gemini, twins*; Sax. two children born at one birth. Here, Castor and Pollux, sons of Tindaurus and Leda, king of Sparta; born there, and at the same time. Castor and Pollux, *i. e.* adorned and shining, were the 11th king of it after their father, and reigned cotemporary. They are feigned to be the sign Gemini, by fabulous antiquity, and were much in veneration among the heathens. See Acts xxviii. 11. They are stars of the second magnitude, which form the two heads of Gemini, the third of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

(*u*) *Cancer*; because the sun moves back the same way as the crab doth; or because it consists of nine stars in the shape of a crab; the fourth of the twelve signs, the sun enters into this sign on the 10th of June. Here, the tropic of Cancer, or the northern tropic.

(*x*) *Leo*; Lat. from the Gr. *the lion*. Here, an astron. term. The 5th of the 12 signs, into which the sun enters in the 21st of July. This constellation hath 27 stars about it.

(*y*) *Virgo, Virgin*; Lat. *i. e. strong*; a chaste maid, a maiden in her bloom and strength. Here an astron. term. The 6th of the twelve signs. It consists of 26 stars; the sun enters into it in the 23d of August yearly. This is Astræa the goddess of justice, who left the earth because of the wickedness of men after the fall, and flew up to heaven; where she weighs, considers, and examines all actions of men and things, as the poets feigned.

(*z*) *Libra*; *i. e. a balance, or pair of scales*. Here an astron. term. The 7th of the 12 signs, into which the sun enters in the 13th of September. It is the first of the 6th southern signs of the Zodiac.

(*a*) *Capricorn*; Lat. *i. e. a horned goat*; because then the sun at this point climbs upward again in its annual course, like that climbing creature the goat. An astron. term. The 10th of the 12 signs. It consists of 21 stars; the sun enters into it in the 11th of December, and makes the winter solstice. It is the southern tropic.

perpetually upon the earth, with continual blooming flowers, equal in days and nights, except to those beyond the polar circles; to them day had shone without night, while the low sun, to make amends for his being at so great a distance, had always gone round the horizon in their sight, and not known east or west; which had forbid the snow from cold Estotiland, (*b*) and south as far beneath Magellan (*c*).

At the taste of the forbidden fruit (as it is said he did from the bloody banquet of Thyestes) (*d*) the sun

(*b*) *Estotiland*; Swed. *i. e. another land*. It was called so by some fishermen of Friezland, who first discovered it, long before Columbus. It was afterwards discovered by Nicholas and Andrew Zeni, Venetians; by the Portuguese, and called *Terra de Labrador*, *i. e. the land of the labourer*; because it required much pains to cultivate it; by the Spaniards, *Terra de Cortereal*; because Gaspar Cortereal discovered it; and now New Britain by the French and Britains. This is the most northern country of America, extending towards the east and Hudson's Bay; extremely cold, mountainous, overrun with forests and wild beasts. The inhabitants go naked, notwithstanding the extreme cold, and are idolaters for the most part. Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, *A.D.* 1479, by commission from Hen. VII. of England, furnished two ships with 300 men in England, at his own expense; and discovered all the north coast, from 28 to 56 degrees of northern latitude, 20 years before any other Europeans.

(*c*) *Magellan*; Portug. A vast country in South America, extending towards the south pole, not yet well discovered nor inhabited by the Europeans. This, with the Straits, which part it from the continent of South America, took their names from Ferdinand Magellan or Maglianes, a Portuguese, who discovered them *A.D.* 1519 and 1520, by the order and assistance of the Emperor Charles V. But he was poisoned in the island *de los Ladrones*, *i. e. the island of robbers*; or died in the island of Maran, *A.D.* 1520.

(*d*) *Thyestes*; Gr. *i. e. a murderer*. The son of Pelops, and brother of Atreus. Thyestes committed adultery with his brother's wife; to revenge it Atreus slew the son that was born of

changed his first course; else how had the world, that would have been inhabited all over as well as Eden (though they had been without Sin) have more than now avoided pinching cold and scorching heat? these changes in heaven produced (though slowly) like change upon sea and land, star-blast, vapour, mist, and hot corrupt and pestilent exhalation! now the winds from the north Boreas, (*e*) Cæcias, (*f*) Argestes, (*g*) and Thrascias, (*h*) bursting their brazen dungeon from Norumbeque, (*i*) and the shore of Samoed, (*k*) armed with ice, snow, hail, and storms, rend up the woods, and turn up the seas: Notus, (*l*) and Afer,

her, and served him up to his own brother at a feast. At this horrid wickedness, it is said, the sun turned back his course for a time, lest he should be polluted. Such an abhorrence the blind heathens had of those heinous crimes.

(*e*) *Boreas*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. a roaring violent sound*. The north wind so called from the sound and force of it.

(*f*) *Cæcias*; Lat. Gr. from *Caycus*, *i. e. drawing evil*. It is a river of Mysia in Lesser Asia near the Hellespont, from which this wind blows upon Greece; and gathers clouds together by a strong attractive power. The north-west wind.

(*g*) *Argestes*; *i. e. white as silver*; because it clears the sky, making it clear as silver. The north-east wind.

(*h*) *Thrascias*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. blowing from Thracæ*, now Romania in Europe, upon Greece, from the north. The north wind.

(*i*) *Norumbeque*; from the French, *Americ*. A large country of North America, having Nova Scotia on the south-west, New England on the north-west, and the ocean on the south; from the capital city of the same name.

(*k*) *Samoed*, or *Samoiede*; Russ. *i. e. Cannibals* or *Men-eaters*. A province in the north-east of Muscovy, upon the Icy Sea, on both sides of the river Ob; and joining to Siberia. The people are very rude and savage, idolaters to this day. Stephen Burroughs, an Englishman, first discovered this country, *A.D.* 1556.

(*l*) *Notus*; Lat. from the Gr. *i. e. moist and wet*. Hence Ovid calls it watery. The south wind.

(*m*) black with thunder clouds from Serraliona, (*n*) turn them up with adverse blast from the south: across these forth rush with equal fierceness, the Levant (*o*) and Ponent (*p*) winds, Eurus, (*q*) and Zephyr; with their side winds Sirocco, (*r*) and Libeccio, (*s*) Thus outrage began from things without life: but Discord (the daughter of Sin) first introduced Death among the irrational creatures, through fierce antipathy: beast now began to fight with beast, fowl with fowl, and fish with fish, all leaving to graze upon the grass, devoured one another; nor did they stand much in awe of Man, but fled from him, or passing by him, glared on him with a grim countenance.

(*m*) *Afer*; Gr. *i. e.* blowing from *Africa*. The south-west wind, which lies south from Greece.

(*n*) *Serraliona*, in the edit. *Sirra Liona*, Span. *i. e.* the lion mountains; vulgo *Cap' di Sierra Liona*; so called from a chain of mountains, that reach to the Atlantic ocean, which beats upon these rocks, and makes a noise like the roaring of a lion. Anciently *Teoon Ochema*, Gr. *i. e.* the chariots of the gods. It is the most western point of Africa, on the frontiers of Nigritia and Guinea, and within a few leagues of *Cape Verd*.

(*o*) *Levant*; Fr. from the Lat. *i. e.* rising. The east, or eastern countries, especially those on the Mediterranean sea, where the sun riseth. The east wind.

(*p*) *Ponent*; Lat. Fr. milt. *i. e.* laying down; because there the sun sets down to our appearance. Fr. *Vent du Ponant*, *i. e.* the west wind, *i. e.* the winds rising and setting; the east and west winds.

(*q*) *Eurus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* belonging to the east. The east wind.

(*r*) *Sirocco*; Ital. Span. Lat. *Japyx*, *i. e.* blowing from *Syria*. The south-east wind; because Syria lies south-east from Italy and Spain.

(*s*) *Libeccio*; Span. Ital. *i. e.* blowing from *Lybia*. The south-west wind; because Lybia lies south-west from Italy and Spain.

CHAPTER IV.

Adam bewails his fallen condition; Eve endeavours to appease him, but does not succeed. He exhorts her to seek peace by repentance.

THESE were the growing miseries from without, which Adam in part already saw, though hid in the gloomiest shade, and abandoned to sorrow: but within himself he felt worse misery, and his mind was tossed and thrown up and down in a troubled sea of disordered passions; which he endeavoured thus to disburthen with sad complaint:

How miserable am I become, who was once so happy! is this the end of this new glorious world, and of me, so lately the glory of that glory, who from being blessed am now become accursed? hide me from the face of God, whom to behold was once the height of my happiness!—Yet if the misery would end here, it were well; I deserved it, and would bear my own deservings: but this will not serve! all that I eat or drink, or shall beget, is propagating and prolonging the curse. O voice heard once with so much delight, ‘Increase and multiply;’ now it is Death to hear it! for what can I increase and multiply, except it be curses on my own head? who will there be of all succeeding ages, but feeling the evil brought upon him by me, will curse my head? he will cry, may our impure ancestor fare ill! for this we may thank Adam! but these his thanks shall be the execration! so, besides my own curse that abides upon me, all from me shall rebound fiercely back on me, and tend to me as their natural centre; there being light, as having reached that centre, and lost their gravity, which in other places

they had! O fleeting joys of Paradise, dearly bought with lasting misery! did I request thee, O thou who madest me, to make me a Man, when I was nothing but clay? did I solicit thee to take me forth out of darkness? or to place me here in this delicious garden? as my will did not concur to my being, it were but right and just to reduce me to what I was before, that is to dust; being desirous to resign, and give back again all I have received; seeing I have been unable to perform thy too hard terms, by which I was to hold the good that I had not sought. To the loss of that good (which is sufficient penalty!) why hast thou added the sense of endless woes? in this thy justice does not seem to appear.—Yet, to say the truth, I contest thus when it is too late; these terms, whatever they might be, should then have been refused, when they were proposed. I may be answered thus; thou didst accept them, wilt thou enjoy the good, and then cavil at the conditions? and though God did make thee without thy leave, what if thy son prove disobedient, and being reprov'd, should answer and object to thee, wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not, nor desired it of thee! wouldest thou admit of that proud excuse of his contempt of thee? and yet it was not thy election, but natural necessity that begot him. God made thee of choice, his own, and of his own to serve him; thy reward was of his grace; then thy punishment, for certain, is justly at his will. Then be it so! for I submit; his doom is righteous, that I am dust and to dust I shall return again. O welcome hour, come whenever it will! why does his hand delay to execute, what his decree fixed upon this day? why do I live over it? why am I mock'd with Death, and yet preserved and prolonged to deathless pain? how gladly would I meet the mortality that I was sentenced to, and become insensible earth! how gladly would I lay me down, as in my mother's

lap! there I should rest, there I should sleep securely: his dreadful voice would no more thunder in my ears: I should not be tormented with fears of worse to me and my offspring, which now torment me with cruel expectation!—Yet there is one doubt pursues me still, lest I cannot wholly die; lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man, which God breathed into him, cannot perish together with this corporal clay: then who knows but in the grave, or some other dismal place, I shall die a living death? O horrid thought, if it be true! yet why should it be so? it was but breath of life that sinned; and what dies but what had life and sin? the body, properly speaking, hath neither. Then all of me shall die: let this quiet the doubt, since human understanding knows no further. For though the Lord of all be indeed infinite, is his wrath so too? suppose it! Man is not so, but declared and doomed mortal. Then how can he exercise wrath without end upon Man, whom death must end? can he make deathless Death? that were to make a strange contradiction, which is held impossible to God himself; as it would be an argument of weakness, not of power. Will he, for anger's sake, draw out finite to infinite in punished Man, to satisfy his anger, which never will be satisfied? that were to extend his sentence beyond dust, and the law of nature; by which all causes else act, according to the matter they have to work upon, and not to the extent of their own power. But say that Death be not as I supposed, one stroke, bereaving the senses, but endless misery from this day forward; which I feel begun within me and without me, and so it is to last perpetually.—Ah me! that fear comes thundering back dreadfully on my defenceless head: Death as well as I, is found eternal, and both incorporated. Nor I single on my part; in me all posterity stands cursed! Ah my sons! this is a fair patrimony that I must leave you!

O! that I were able to waste it all myself, and leave you none! being so disinherited, how would you then bless me, who am now your curse! Ah! why should all mankind be thus, without guilt, condemned for one Man's fault? mankind! and guiltless, can that be? for what can proceed from me but what is all corrupt, depraved both mind and will; not to do only, but to will the same as me? how then can they stand acquitted in the sight of God? after all disputes, I am forced to absolve him: all my vain reasonings and evasions, though through many mazes, lead still but to my own conviction: first and last all the blame justly lights on me, and me only, as the source and spring of all corruption; all the blame! so might the wrath fall on me! fond wish! couldst thou support that burthen, heavier to bear than the earth; much heavier than all the world, though divided with that bad Woman? thus what thou desirest and what thou fearest, equally destroys all hope of refuge, and concludes thee miserable, beyond all past and future example; and like to nothing but Satan, both in crime and doom. O conscience! into what an abyss of fears and horrors hast thou driven me? out of which I can find no way, but go plunging deeper and deeper!

Thus Adam made loud lamentation in the stillness of the night; which was not wholesome, cool, and mild, as it was before Man fell; but accompanied with black air, with dreadful gloom and dampness; which represented every thing to his evil conscience with double terror. He lay outstretched upon the cold ground; and often cursed his creation: Death he accused as often, tardy of execution, since it was threatened to be on the day that he offended. Why (said he) does not Death come, with one thrice welcomed stroke to end me? shall truth fail to keep her word? why does not divine justice hasten to be just? but Death does not come at all,

divine justice not the quicker for prayers or cries! O woods! O fountains, hills, valleys, and bowers! lately I taught your shades to answer with echoes not like these, and to resound a song far different!—When sad Eve, desolate where she sat, beheld Adam thus afflicted; approaching near, she tried with soft words to allay the fierceness of his passion: but Adam, with an angry look, thus checked and repelled her:

Get out of my sight, thou serpent!—That name is fittest for thee, who are leagued with him; thyself as false as he, and as hateful! there is nothing wanting, but that thy shape and serpentine colour, like his may show thy inward fraud; to warn all creatures henceforth to avoid thee, lest that too heavenly form, held to sight to hide hellish falsehood, ensnare them!—Had it not been for thee, I had persisted happy; had not thy pride and wandering vanity, when it was least safe, rejected my forewarning, and disdained to be thought not fit to be trusted alone; longing to be seen, though it were by the devil himself; vainly thinking to overreach him: but meeting with the serpent, art fooled and beguiled; thou by him, and I by thee, to trust thee from my side; imagining thee to be wise, constant, considerate, and proof against all assaults; and did not understand that all was but a show, rather than solid virtue; all nothing but a rib, crooked by nature, best thrown out, as found supernumerary to my just number!—O why did God, the wise Creator! that peopled the highest heaven with masculine spirits, at last create this novelty upon earth, this fair defect of nature? and not fill the world at once with men, as heaven with angels, without any female? or find out some other way to generate mankind? then this mischief had not happened, and more that shall happen; numberless disturbances upon earth, through the snares of women, and a straight conjunction with this sex! for either a

a man shall never find out a fit mate, but such as some mistake or misfortune brings him; or her, he wishes for most, and loves best, through her perverseness shall seldom gain, but shall see her gained by a far worse than himself; or if she love him, withheld by parents; or shall meet her, who would be his happiest choice, already bound in wedlock to another, perhaps his enemy, one that is his hate or shame; which shall cause infinite calamities to human life, and confound domestic peace!

He said no more, and turned from her.—But Eve, not repulsed so, with tears that flowed continually, and dishevelled hair, fell humbly at his feet; and embracing them, entreated him to be at peace, and proceeded thus in her complaint:

Adam! do not abandon me thus; witness heaven, what sincere love and reverence in my heart I bear thee, and have offended not knowingly; but being unhappily deceived! with humblest supplication I beg to be forgiven, and clasp thy knees.—Do not bereave me of that, on which I live, thy gentle looks, thy kind assistance and counsel in this uttermost distress, my only strength and support! forsaken of thee, whither shall I betake me?—Where shall I subsist? while we yet live (which perhaps may be scarce one short hour) let there be peace between his two! both joining in one enmity (as joined in injuries) against a foe, expressly assigned us by fate, that cruel serpent!—Do not exercise thy hatred on me for this misery which is befallen us; upon me, who am already lost! me, more miserable than thyself! we both have sinned! but thou only against God; I, both against God and thee; and will return to the place of judgment, there to importune heaven with my cries, that all the sentence removed from thy head may light upon me, who

am the sole cause of all this woe to thee: yes! it is I alone, that am the just object of his wrath!

She ended weeping, and kept immoveable in her humble posture; until having obtained peace for her fault, acknowledged, and repented, she wrought commiseration in Adam: his heart soon relented towards her, to see her, who so lately was his own delight, and dear to him as life, now in such distress, submissive at his feet! to see so fair a creature seeking his reconciliation whom she had displeased, and suing for his counsel and assistance! disarmed at once, he lost all his anger, and thus with peaceful words he soon raised her up from the ground:

Unwary Eve! and too desirous (now as thou wert before) of that thou knowest not, who desirest, that the punishment of both our crimes may all light upon thyself! Alas! bear thy own part first; thou art ill able to sustain his full wrath, of which as yet thou feelest but the least part, and seest how ill thou canst bear even my displeasure. If prayers could alter the decrees of heaven, I would speed to the place of judgment before thee; and be heard louder requesting that upon my head all might be visited, and thy frailty and infirmer sex be forgiven; which was committed to my care, and through my permission exposed to hazard. But rise!——Let us contend no more, nor blame each other; we are blamed enough elsewhere! but let us strive in offices of love, how we may make each other's burthen lighter in our share of misery; since Death threatened us this day (if I judge right) will prove a slow paced and not a sudden evil; a long day's dying, in augmentation of our pain; and be entailed (Oh misery to think on!) upon our posterity.

To whom Eve, taking fresh courage, replied thus: Adam! I know by sad experiment, how little weight my words ought to have with thee, having been found

so erroneous; thence (as is the just event of error) found so unfortunate: nevertheless, being restored by thee to a place of new acceptance (vile as I am!) I am hopeful yet to regain thy love, which is the only contentment of my heart, either living or dying; so that I will not hide from thee what thoughts are risen in my unquiet breast, tending either to end our extreme sorrow, or give some relief to it; which means, though sharp and sad, yet are better to be chose, and more tolerable than our present evils. If the care of those who are to descend from us, be what perplexes us most, as they must be born to certain misery, and be at last devoured by Death (and it is a miserable thing, to be the cause of misery to others, and those our own begotten; out of our own loins, to bring into this cursed world a miserable race, that, after bearing wretched life, must be at last food for so foul a monster!) it lies yet in thy power, before conception, to prevent the unblest race, to prevent being what is yet unbegot. Thou art yet childless, childless remain still: so Death shall be deceived of his glut, and be forced to satisfy his ravenous maw with us two only. But if thou judge it difficult and too hard, conversing together, looking upon and loving one another, to abstain from sweet nuptial embraces, the rites due to love; and without hope to languish with desire, before the object that languishes with like desire; (which would be a misery and torment as great as any that we dread) then, to free both ourselves and seed at once from what we fear for both, let us make short work,——let us seek Death;—or if he is not to be found, let us ourselves with our own hands supply his office. Why do we stand any longer shivering under fears, that show no end but Death; and yet have the power of many ways to die? why not choosing the shortest prevent the destruction of our posterity, by destroying ourselves?

She ended here; or else vehement despair broke off the rest she had to say; her thoughts had entertained so much of death, as made her cheek quite pale: but Adam, nothing swayed by such counsel, had raised his labouring and more attentive mind to better hopes; and thus he replied to Eve:

Eve! thy contempt of life and pleasure, seems to argue something in thee more sublime and excellent, than that which thy mind contemns. But, therefore seeking self-destruction refutes that excellence, thought to be in thee; and implies not thy contempt of life, but anguish and regret for the loss of it, and pleasure over loved. Or if thou covetest death, as the utmost end of all misery, so thinking to evade the penalty pronounced; doubt not but God hath more wisely armed his vengeance, than to be fore-stalled and disappointed so: I am much more afraid, lest death, if we should so snatch it, will not exempt us from the pain, which we are by doom to pay. Rather such acts of contumacy will provoke God to make death live in us! then let us seek some safer resolution, which methinks I have in my view; with heed calling to mind that part of our sentence, that “thy seed shall bruise the serpent’s head;” a poor amends! unless (which as I conjecture) our great enemy Satan be meant; who, in the serpent, hath contrived this deceit against us. To crush his head would be revenge indeed! which will be lost, if we were to bring death upon ourselves; or resolve, as thou hast proposed, to live childless: so our foe shall escape the punishment ordained him, and we, instead of that, shall double ours upon our own heads. Then do not let any more be mentioned of violence upon ourselves, or wilful barrenness, that cuts us off from hope, and only savours of rancour, pride, impatience, and despite, and reluctance against God, and his just yoke laid upon our necks. Let us remember, with

what mild and gracious temper he both heard and judged us; without anger, and without reproaches. We expected immediate dissolution, which we imagined was meant by Death that day: when, lo! to thee were only foretold pains in bearing and bringing forth children; which will be soon recompensed with joy, the fruit of thy womb. The curse not so directly pronounced on me, glanced on the ground; I must earn my bread with labour: what harm is that? idleness had been worse; my labour will sustain me: and lest cold or heat should do us injury, he has, without being sought too, with timely care provided us clothes (unworthy as we are) with his own hands; pitying, even while he judged us. How much more then, if we pray to him, will his ear be open, and his heart inclined to pity us? and teach us further, how to shun the inclemency of the seasons, rain, ice, hail, and snow; which now the the sky begins to shew us in this mountain; while the winds blow moist and keen; shattering the the leaves of these fair spreading trees: which bids us seek some better covering, to cherish our numbed limbs; before the sun leave the night cold, how we may foment his beams, gathered together by some warm or combustible matter; or by striking two hard bodies together, move the heated air into fire, as lately the clouds, justling or forced with winds, in their rude shock flashed the slant lightning, the flame of which driven down, kindles the gummy part of fir or pine, and sends out from a distance a comfortable heat, which might supply the want of that of the sun. He will instruct us, if we pray to him, and beseech grace of him, to use such fire, and what else may be a cure to these evils, which our own misdeeds have brought on us: so as we need not fear to pass this life commodiously, sustained by him with many comforts; until such time as we end in dust, our final rest and native

home! what can we do better, than repair to the place where he judged us? fall reverently prostrate before him, and there humbly confess our faults, and beg pardon; watering the ground with our tears, and filling the air with our sighs, sent from contrite hearts, in sign of unfeigned sorrow and meek humiliation? he will undoubtedly relent, and turn away from his displeasure; in whose serene look, when he seemed most angry and most severe, what else shone but favour, grace, and mercy?

So spoke our first father, in true penitence: nor did Eve feel less remorse: they forthwith repaired to the place where God judged them, fell reverently prostrate before him; and there humbly confessed their faults, and begged pardon; watering the ground with their tears, and filling the air with their sighs, sent from contrite hearts, in sign of unfeigned sorrow and meek humiliation.

and the other two, which were the only ones of the kind in the country, were the property of the same person, and were situated in the same place. The first of these was a small house, and the second was a larger one. The first was built in the year 1780, and the second in the year 1785. The first was built by a person named John Smith, and the second by a person named John Jones. The first was built on a piece of land which was then owned by John Smith, and the second was built on a piece of land which was then owned by John Jones. The first was built on a piece of land which was then owned by John Smith, and the second was built on a piece of land which was then owned by John Jones.

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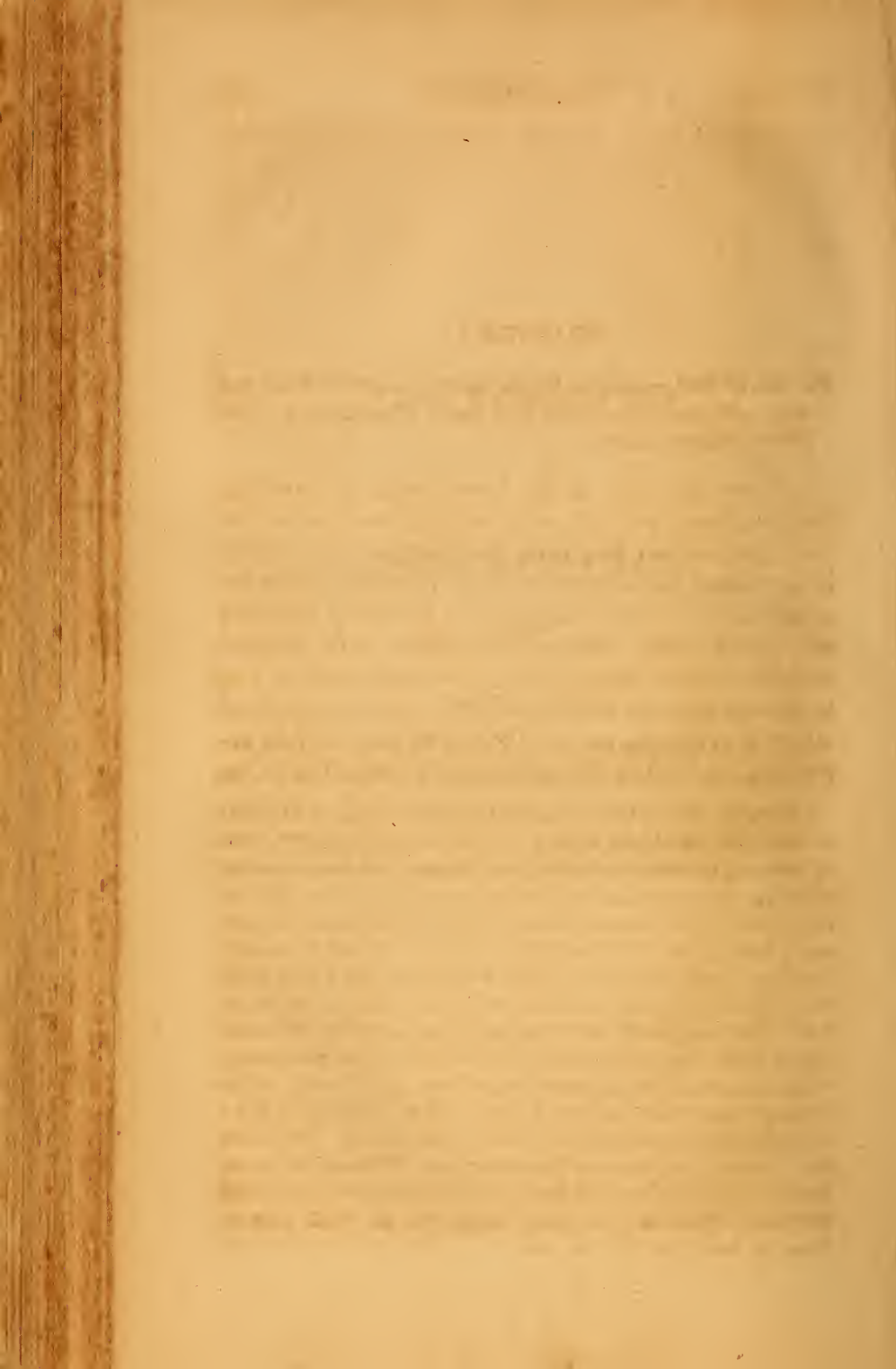
THE ELEVENTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of our first parents, now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise: sends Michael, with a band of cherubim, to dispossess them; but first to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down.



CHAPTER I.

The Son of God presents to his Father the prayers of Adam and Eve. Michael is sent to put them out of Paradise, and reveal future things to Adam.

THUS prostrate in the lowest state of humility, they remained penitent and praying, for, even before that, grace descending from the mercy-seat (a) above, had softened the stonyness of their hearts, and in the room made new flesh to grow; so that they breathed unutterable sighs and groans; which were inspired with the spirit of prayer, and could sooner find the way to heaven than the loudest oratory: yet were they not meant supplicants, nor did their petition seem less important, than when the ancient pair, according to the

(a) *Mercy-seat.* It was a covering of pure solid gold, made exactly to fit the dimensions of the ark, to which the two cherubims of gold also were fixed, and spread their wings over it; placed in the tabernacle and in Solomon's temple under the two cherubims. It was two cubits and a half in length, and a cubit and a half in breadth, Exod. xxv. 17, 18. 21. 'And thou shalt make a mercy-seat of pure gold: two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof. And thou shalt make two cherubims of gold: of beaten work shalt thou make them in the two ends of the mercy-seat. And thou shalt put the mercy-seat above upon the ark, and in the ark thou shalt put the testimony that I shall give thee.' It was called *Propitiatory* or *Covering Mercy-seat*. Therefore God is said to sit between the cherubims. Thither the pious Jews did always turn their faces, in whatever part of the world they were when they prayed, 1 Kings viii. 48. Psal. xcix. 1. Dan. vi. Jon. ii. 5. Heb. iv. 16.

fables of old, Deucalion (*b*) and chaste Pyrrha, (*c*) stood before the shrine of Themis, (*d*) to restore the race of mankind, destroyed by the deluge. Their prayers ascended up to heaven, without obstruction, and there found easy entrance; then clad with incense, came in sight before the Father's throne, where the golden altar smoked, close by their great intercessor; and the Son gladly presenting them, thus began to intercede:

Behold, O Father! what are the first fruits, which on earth are sprung up in Man, from thy grace implanted in him! they are these sighs and prayers, which I thy priest bring before thee, mixed with incense in this golden censor: these are fruits of more pleasing savour, produced from thy seed, sown with contrition in his heart, than those which all the trees in Paradise could have produced, manured by his hand before he was fallen from innocence. Now, therefore, incline thine ear to his supplication; hear

(*b*) *Deucalion*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *calling upon God*. An ancient king of Thessaly the son of Prometheus, cotemporary with Cecrops king of Athens, about *A.M.* 2437, in whose reign a great inundation happened in Greece. He with his wife only were saved in a little boat upon mount Parnassus, until the waters abated.

(*c*) *Pyrrha*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *fire*: because of her singular piety, zeal for the gods, and chastity. She was the wife of Deucalion. These names were very suitable to the character given to Noah and his wife.—Deucalion, they say, was the first that erected a temple to the worship of the gods; so Noah built the first altar, we read of in the world, Gen. viii. 20, 21.—And Berosus calls Pyrrha Tytea and Vesta. Heb. i. e. *earth born*.

(*d*) *Themis*; Lat. Gr. i. e. *just or right*: because she taught men to petition the gods for those things that were right and fit; or Heb. from *Tham* or *Thummim*, i. e. *perfect*, upright. A goddess, that had an oracle upon mount Parnassus; thither those two addressed themselves for counsel, how the lost race of mankind might be restored.

his sighs, though his tongue be mute! he knows not with what words to pray, let me interpret for him, who am his advocate and propitiation; impute all his deeds good or evil to me; my merit shall make the good perfect, and for the evil my death shall pay. Accept of me; and in me, from these prayers and sighs, receive motive to grant peace to mankind: let him live reconciled before thee, though he live in sorrow (at least the number of his days) until death (which being his doom I plead not to reverse, but to mitigate) shall yield him to a better life; where all my redeemed may dwell with me in bliss and joy; and as I am one with thee, so they may be made one with me.

To whom the Father graciously replied: My accepted Son! all that thou hast requested for Man, obtain, for all thy request was my decree. But the law which I gave to nature, forbids him to dwell any longer in that Paradise: those pure and immortal elements, that know no gross nor foul discordant mixture, eject him, as he is now tainted; and purge him off, as a gross distemper, to fouler air and mortal food, such as may best fit him for the dissolution wrought by sin, that first distempered and corrupted all things. I, when I first created him, endowed him with two fair gifts, happiness and immortality; happiness once lost, immortality served only to make misery eternal, until such time as I provided Death; so Death becomes his final remedy, and resigns him up to a second life, when heaven and earth shall be renewed, after a life tried in sharp tribulation, and refined by faith and faithful works; when he shall be waked in the renovation of the just. But let us call together all the blest through the wide bounds of heaven: I will not hide my judgments from them, and how I proceed with mankind, as they saw lately how I did with the offending angels;

and though they stood firm in their state before, yet afterwards they were still more confirmed.

The Father concluded thus; and the Son gave high signal to the bright minister that kept watch: he blew his trumpet, that which was since heard in Oreb, (*e*) when God descended, and perhaps the same that will sound at the day of judgment. The sound of the trumpet, which the angel sounded, was heard through all heaven: the angelical sons of light, hasted from their blissful bowers of shady amaranths, or from fountains or springs by the waters of life, wherever they sat in fellowship of joy, resorting according as their high summons called them; where they took their seats; until the Almighty from his supreme throne, thus pronounced his sovereign will:

O sons of heaven! Man is become like unto one of us to know both good and evil, since he has tasted of the forbidden fruit: but let him boast his knowledge, which is of good lost and evil got; happier had it been for him, had he thought it sufficient to have known good by itself, and not have known evil at all. Now he repents, is sorrowful, and prays with a contrite heart; all these are my motions in him; and longer than they move, supposing him left to himself, I know his heart how variable and vain it is. Therefore, lest now his bolder hand reach also of the tree of life, and eat of that, and so live for ever (at least dream to live for ever) I decree to remove him, and send him out of the garden to till the ground, whence he was taken; which is a soil much fitter for him.

(*e*) *Oreb*; i. e. when God descended with the sound of a trumpet, *Exod. xix. 6.* ‘And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders and lightnings; and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the people that were in the camp trembled.’

Michael! do thou take this command of mine in charge: take to thee from among the cherubim thy choice of flaming warriors; lest the fiend raise some new trouble, either in the behalf of Man, or else to invade vacant possession. Make haste, and without remorse drive out the sinful pair from the Paradise of God; drive out the unholy from that holy ground, and denounce to them and their posterity perpetual banishment from thence. Yet, lest they faint at the sad sentence, urged too rigorously, hide all terror; for I behold them softened, and bewailing their transgression with tears. If they patiently submit and obey with resignation, do not dismiss them disconsolate; but mix with my commands speech of my covenant renewed in the seed of the Woman: so send them forth, though in sorrow, yet in peace. And on the east side of the garden place a watch of cherubim, and the wide waving flame of a sword; (where the entrance up from Eden is the easiest to Paradise) to deter all approach, and guard all passage to the tree of life; lest Paradise prove a receptacle for foul spirits, and all my trees should become their prey; with whose stolen fruit they might once more endeavour to delude Man.

He ceased here, and the archangel prepared for swift descent, with him the bright company of watchful cherubim: each of them had four faces, like a double Janus; (*f*) their bodies were all over spangled

(*f*) *Janus*; Heb. i. e. *wine*. The first king of Italy, who first dressed the vine and drank wine: therefore his posterity were called *Oenotrii*, Gr. i. e. *wine-bibbers*. He was therefore deified and honoured with a famous temple at Rome, pictured with two faces; in memory of him money was coined with a Janus on one side, and a ship on the reverse; and the month of January was dedicated to him. This description of angels is taken from Ezekiel x. 12. 14. ‘And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had.

with eyes, more in number than those feigned of Argus, (*g*) and more wakeful than to sleep, charmed with the Arcadian (*h*) pipe of Mercury, or to be lulled with the touch of his sleepy rod. Mean while the day broke, and fresh dew fell upon the earth, when Adam and our first mother Eve had now ended their prayers, and found new strength added from above; new hope to spring out of despair, and joy that was yet mixed with fear; so that he renewed his speech to Eve in these welcome words:

Eve! faith may easily admit, that all the good which we enjoy descends from heaven; but that any thing from us should ascend up there, so prevalent as to concern the mind of the high blest God, or to incline his will, may seem hard to believe; yet prayer will do this, nay one short sigh of human breath, borne up even to

‘ And every one had four faces: the first face was the face of a cherub, and the second face was the face of a man, and the third the face of a lion, and the fourth the face of an eagle.’

(*g*) *Argus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e.* active and nimble. A shepherd, said to have had 100 eyes. Juno retained him in her service, to watch and relate the pranks of Jupiter. Jupiter was displeased with such a spy, and set Mercury to work. He, with his pipe, lulled him fast asleep, and cut off his head; which Juno, in reward of his faithful service, turned into a stately peacock, whose tail is adorned with many golden circles; therefore this bird was dedicated to her.

(*h*) *Arcadian*; belonging to Arcadia; from Arcas, Gr. *i. e.* a bear. The son of Jupiter and Calisto (whom Jupiter turned into a bear) father of the Arcadians, and king of Arcadia. The Arcadians, ignorant of their true original, boasted that they were before the moon. It was called also Pelasgia and Thesaly, and the people Pelasgi; who came out of Asia, settled in Greece, and fixed in Italy, after the Oenotrians. It is a country in the middle of Peloponnesus, abounding with good pasture, flocks, and shepherds, who made pipes of the reeds and stalks of corn. The people worshipped Pan, as their tutelar god.

the very seat of God. For, since I sought to appease the offended Deity by prayer: since I kneeled, and humbled all my heart before him, methought I saw him placable, and mildly bending his ear: persuasion grew in me, that I was heard with favour; peace returned home again to my breast, and that promise came to my memory, "That our seed should bruise our foe;" which not minded, as then I was in great dismay, yet now it assures me that the bitterness of Death is past, and we shall live. Whence I am bold to say, hail to thee! Eve, rightly so called, the mother of all mankind, the mother of all things living, since by thee Man is to live, and all things live for him!

To whom Eve, with a humble and sorrowful countenance, made answer: I am not worthy that such a title should belong to me, who am a transgressor! who being ordained for a help, became a snare to thee: to me rather belongs reproach, suspicion, and all dispraise! but my judge was infinite in his mercy, that I, who first brought Death upon all, have the grace conferred on me to be the source of life: next thou art greatly favourable to me, who hast vouchsafed to give me this high title; I deserve a far other name! but the field calls us to labour now; labour, which is imposed on us with sweat of our brow; though we have not slept all night: for see the morning, taking no notice of our want of rest, begins her usual progress: let us go forth; I never henceforward offering to stray from thee, wherever our day's work may lie; though now enjoined us, that we labour until the day decline: what can be very toilsome in these pleasant walks, while we dwell here? let us live here contented, though we are in a fallen state!

So Eve spoke, and so wished with great humility; but fate did not consent: first of all nature gave signs, marked on birds, beasts, and the elements; light eclips-

ed suddenly, after a short appearance of the morning; the eagle flying from on high, drove two of the finest birds before him; the lion, then, the first hunter that ever was, pursued a hart and a hind, the goodliest of all the forest, down from a hill; and their flight was bent directly to the eastern gate of Paradise. Adam observed it, and fixing his eyes upon the chase, with some emotion spoke thus to Eve:

O Eve! some further change for us is near at hand, which heaven shews by these mute signs in nature; the forerunners of his purpose, either to warn us, who may be too presuming and too secure of our discharge from penalty, because we have been released some days from Death: how long and what our life will be until then, who knows? or is it more than this, perhaps to warn us that we are dust, and that we must return thither and be no more? why else this double object in our sight, of flight and pursuit in the air and over the ground, one way in the self-same hour? why is darkness in the east before noon? and why is the morning light brighter in yon western cloud, that draws a shining whiteness along before the sky, descending slowly, and bearing in it some of the blest from heaven.

CHAPTER II.

Michael denounces their departure; Eve's lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits.

ADAM did not mistake in his conjecture; for by this time the heavenly bands of angels were lighted down in Paradise from the serene sky, and took their stand upon a hill: a glorious appearance! had not doubts and carnal fear that day made the eyes of Adam

dim: that was not more glorious, when the angels met Jacob in Mahanaim, (*i*) where he saw the field covered with bright angels: nor was that more glorious, which appeared on the flaming mountain Dothan, (*k*) covered with chariots and horses of fire against Benhadad, the king of Syria; who, to surprise the prophet Elisha, (*l*) like an assassin had levied war unproclaim-

(*i*) *Mahanaim*; Heb. *i. e. two hosts or camps*. So Jacob called the place, where he saw armies of holy angels protecting him from the fear of Esau, Gen. xxxii. 1, 2. A city was built there in memory of this glorious vision; in the tribe of Gad in the land of Gilead beyond Jordan for the priests, near Ramath, Josh. xxi. 38. It is 41 miles from Jerusalem to the east. David fled to it, as a sacred place of refuge, in his exile under Absalom's usurpation. Abinidab a priest was the governor of it, under king Solomon; and so it was always esteemed a sacred place from that occasion.

(*k*) *Dothan*; Heb. *i. e. commandment*. A city about two miles from Siehem, six from Tiberias, twelve to the north of Samaria, forty-four miles from Jerusalem towards the north. A place of good pasture; for there Joseph found his brethren with their flocks, and was cast into a pit, Gen. xxxvii. 17. There Elisha the prophet lived, and struck the Syrian army with blindness; having a glorious guard of angels, with chariots and flaming fire about him, 2 Kings vi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. "And he said, Go, and spy where he is, that I may send and fetch him; and it was told him, saying, Behold he is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses and chariots, and a great host; and they came by night, and compassed the city about. And when the servant of the man of God was risen early and gone forth, behold, an host compassed the city, both with horses and chariots; and his servant said unto him, Alas, my Master, how shall we do? And he answered, fear not; for they that be with us, are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray thee open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw; and behold the mountain was full of horses, and chariots of fire round about Elisha." And there Holofernes was slain by Judith.

(*l*) *Elisha* the prophet, who discovered the private councils of the king of Syria to the king of Israel.

ed. Michael, the princely archangel, left his powers there in their bright stand, to take possession of the garden; and he alone took his way, to find where Adam had sheltered himself; who perceiving him at a distance, as he made his approach towards him, spoke to Eve in this manner:

Eve! now is the time to expect to know some great matter, which perhaps will very soon determine what relates to us; or perhaps, for us to receive new laws to observe: for I discover: from yonder blazing cloud that covers the top of the hill, one of the host of heaven; and, by his port, none of the meanest; some great potentate, one of those who sit upon thrones above, such majesty appears about him as he comes along; yet not terrible that I should fear him; nor sociably mild as Raphael was, that I should venture to use much freedom with him; but he seems solemn and sublime; whom not to offend I must meet with reverence, and do thou retire.

He said thus; and the archangel soon drew near; not in his heavenly shape, but clad like a Man to meet with Man: he wore a military vest of purple, (*m*) of a brighter colour and richer dye, than ever was known in Melibæa, (*n*) or Tyre, (*o*) though that was worn by

(*m*) *Purple*; Sax. Fr. Ital. Span. Lat. from the Gr. A colour between red and violet, taken from a sea fish, which is called *Purpura*, i. e. *the colour of fire*. The purple colour was first found out at Tyre, by an accident; for a hungry dog broke one of those shells upon the sea side, and eat the fish, which coloured his mouth and chops, to the admiration of all beholders. Hence the Tyrians became the most famous masters of that art, in all antiquity. Purple became as valuable as gold, and was the distinguishing mark of emperors, kings, consuls, senators, dictators, and triumphers; so that a pound of it was sold at Rome for 1000 denarii, i. e. about 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* English money.

(*n*) *Melibæa*; Lat. from the Gr. i. e. *having the care of oxen*. A city of Thessaly upon the sea shore, famous of old for the

kings and heroes of old, in time of truce; the rainbow (*p*) had given it its colours before it was wove: his helmet, that was unbuckled and shone like a star, shewed him just at that degree of manhood, where youth ended: his sword, the dread of Satan, hung by his side, fastened to a shining belt; and in his hand he bore a spear. Adam bowed down low; Michael, who was to keep up his royalty and state, did not bow in return, but thus declared the reason of his coming:

art of dying the noblest purple, by the help of a shell-fish called *Purpura* and *Ostrum*, which they caught in the sea thereabout.

(*o*) *Tyre*, now *Sour*, was a very ancient and rich seaport, and capital city of Phœnicia, built by Agenor, the father of Cadmus, Isa. xxiii. 12. about A.M. 2499, or about the time of Gideon, a judge of Israel, sixty-five years before the destruction of Troy, and 240 before the building of Solomon's temple. It was a fortified city in the days of Joshua, chap. xix. 29. When Sidon was taken by the Philistines of Ascalon, many of the citizens escaped in ships, and founded Tyre upon a rock in an island, half a mile from the land. But Josephus says later, in 2733. A flourishing city in the days of king David and Solomon; famous of old for the vast trade, Ezek. xxvi. 27. which made her so proud and wicked, that the divine judgments were denounced against, and executed upon her, Ezek. xxviii. and for the Tyrian purple, made from the blood of a fish caught in that sea. This city resisted Nebuchadnezzar thirteen years; but Alexander the Great took it in seven months, with incredible pains and loss of men; and Antigonus after a siege of fifteen months, A.M. 3691, before Christ, 313. Now it is a miserable place, inhabited with a few poor fishermen without any houses.

(*p*) The *rainbow*. It is a natural meteor in the clouds, caused by the reflection of the rays of the sun upon them; therefore it appears only in rainy weather. If there was any rain before the deluge, there must have been a rainbow: but after that, God made it a sign of his covenant with Noah, that the earth should never be drowned again, Gen. ix. 12, 13. Eccl. xliii. 11, 12. The purple, blue, and saffron colours appear most lively in it.

Adam! there is no need to make any preamble to the command of heaven, let it be sufficient that thy prayers are heard, and death (which was due by sentence, at the time of thy transgression) not permitted to make the seizure for yet many days; which are given thee through grace, wherein thou mayest repent, and with many deeds well done, cover and blot out one bad act: it is possible God, upon thy repentance (being appeased) may not only defer but quite remit the mortal sentence, and redeem thee from the rapacious claim of Death. But he does not permit thee to dwell longer in this Paradise: I am come to remove thee, and send thee out of the garden to till the ground, whence thou wast taken, which is a soil much fitter for thee.

The archangel said no more; for Adam was struck to the very heart with such sorrow, as suspended all his senses; and Eve, who though unseen, had overheard all, with loud lamentation soon discovered the place where she had concealed herself.

O unexpected stroke, much worse than Death! Paradise! must I leave thee thus? thus leave thee, dear native soil! these pleasant shapes and happy walks, worthy to be visited by gods? where I had hope to spend quiet, though sad, the time that heaven had granted us, until the day come that must be mortal to us both! O flowers! that never will grow in any other climate; that were my early visitation in the morning, and my last in the evening; which I bred up with tender hand, from the very first opening bud, and gave ye all names! who now shall raise ye up to the sun, or range in your several classes, and water ye from the living springs? and lastly, O nuptial bower! adorned by me with every thing that was sweet, either to the smell or sight! how shall I part with thee and whither wander down into a lower world; wild, darksome, and

desolate, in comparison of this? how shall we breathe in other air less pure than this, or feed on grosser food, being accustomed to immortal fruits?

Whom the angel thus mildly interrupted: Eve! do not lament, but resign with patience that, which with the greatest justice is taken from thee: nor thus over fondly set thy heart upon that, which is not thine. Thou dost not leave Paradise alone; thy husband goes along with thee, and thou art bound to follow him: wherever he abides, do thou look the same upon that place, as if it were thy native soil.

Adam, by this time recovering from the sudden cold damp which had seized him, and his scattered spirits being returned; thus, with great humility, addressed himself to Michael.

Celestial being! whither among the thrones of heaven, or perhaps of them one of the highest names; for a prince of princes may have such an appearance! thou hast gently delivered thy message, which might else, in telling, have wounded us, and in performing have ended us: but, bating the mildness with which that hast tempered them, thy tidings bring as much of sorrow, dejection, and despair, as the frailty of our nature can sustain: we must depart from this happy place, our sweet recess, and the only consolation left us; which is familiar to our eyes! and all other places appear inhospitable and desolate; not knowing us, nor being known to us: and if by incessant prayer I could hope to alter the will of him who can do all things, I would not cease to weary him with my continual cries: but, prayers avail no more against his absolute decree, than breath does against the wind; blown stifling back upon him that breathes it forth: therefore I submit myself entirely to his great command! what most inflicts me is, that when I depart from hence I shall be, as it were, hid from his face, deprived of the blessed

light of his countenance! here I could frequent, with worship and adoration, every place, where he had vouchsafed to appear to me in his divine presence; and could relate to my sons, "Upon this mountain he appeared to me; under this tree he stood visible; among these pines I heard his voice; here at this fountain did I talk with him." So many grateful altars I would raise up of grassy turf, and pile up every bright stone from the brook, in remembrance, or to be a monument to future generations: and upon these altars would I offer sweet smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers. In yonder lower world where shall I seek his bright appearances, or trace his footsteps? for though I fled from him, when he was angry; yet being recalled to prolonged life, and promised offspring, I now gladly behold, though but the utmost skirts of glory, and afar off adore his steps.

To whom Michael, with great benignity, thus answered: Adam! thou knowest that heaven and all the earth are his; not only this rock, but his omnipresence fills land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives, warmed and cherished by his quickening and sustaining power. He gave thee the whole earth to possess, and rule; nor was it a despicable gift! do not surmise then, or think that his presence is confined to these narrow bounds of Paradise, or to Eden: this, perhaps, had had been thy capital seat, from whence all generations might have spread; and hither might have come from all the ends of the earth, to celebrate and reverence thee, their great progenitor. But thou hast lost this pre-eminence; being now brought down to dwell upon lower ground, and even with thy sons. Yet do not doubt, but in the valley and in the plain, God is, even as he is here; and will be found alike present; still following thee with many a sign of his presence, still compassing thee round with goodness and paternal love;

he will not hide his face from thee, and thou shalt see the tract of his divine steps. Which that thou mayest believe, and be fully confirmed in before thou depart from hence; know, that I am sent to shew thee what shall come to pass hereafter, to thee and to thy posterity: expect to hear bad mixed with good, grace from above, contending with the sinfulness of men; and thereby endeavour to learn true patience, and to temper thy greatest joy with fear and holy sorrow; to be equally inured by moderation, to bear either the prosperous or adverse state: so shalt thou lead thy life in greater safety, and be best prepared to endure thy mortal passage when it comes.—Ascend this hill; let Eve (for I have closed her eyes) sleep here below; whilst thou awakest to foresight, as once thou sleptest while she was formed to life:

To whom Adam replied in this grateful manner; Ascend, safe guide! I follow thee, the path thou leadest me; and entirely submit to the hand of heaven, however it may chasten me! willingly offering myself to bear the evil; arming myself to overcome by suffering, and to obtain rest through labour; if it may be permitted so to be.



CHAPTER III.

The angel sets before Adam in a vision, what shall happen until the flood.

So, both the archangel Michael and Adam ascended in the visions of God. It was the highest hill of Paradise, which they went up; from whose top the hemisphere of the earth, on the clearest view, lay stretched out to the largest prospect of Adam's reach. Nor

was that hill higher nor wider looking round, whereon (for a different cause) the devil set our second Adam, Christ Jesus, in the wilderness; to shew him all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory of them. The eye of Adam might there command, wherever stood city of ancient or modern frame; the seats of the mightiest empires: from what was to be in future, the walls of Cambalu, (*q*) the seat of Cathian Cham; (*r*) and Samarcand, (*s*) by Oxus, (*t*) Temir's (*u*) kingdom, to

(*q*) *Cambalu, Camphala, or Cambala*, Tat. *i. e. the city of the great lord*. A vast city in the north of Tartary, the capital of Cathai or China, and the same as Pekin; the residence of the emperors of China, since A.D. 1404. It is about 25 or 28 miles in compass, very populous, containing (as they report) 2,000,000 souls, rich and of a vast trade; so that 1000 waggons, loaded with silk only, are imported every day. It hath 12 gates, divers royal palaces and stately temples. Geographers turn their face to the north, to find the elevation of the pole; and begin at the northern countries, when they describe the earth: therefore Milton turns to the north, and begins with China on the right-hand; so comes to the west, and ends in Europe, in this survey of our hemisphere.

(*r*) *Cham, or Chan*, Tat. *i. e. the great lord or emperor*. It is an ancient title of honour given to the emperor of Tatar and China.

(*s*) *Samarcand, Mamarcand, or Samarcant*; Tatar. anciently *Shamarcand*, Pers. *i. e. razed or demolished by Shamare*; having been once destroyed by one of that name, in his expedition to China; others *woody*, being seated in a wood. It is the capital of Zagathy or Sogdiana, a southern province of Tartary, and the metropolis of all Tatar for many ages. Bessus, general of the Bactrians, who murdered Darius, was seized there, and delivered to Alexander the Great, who put him to death on the same spot of ground, where he committed the fact. It was the chief seat and sepulchre of the great Tamerlain, who made it a magnificent and wealthy city; besides the vast riches from other nations, he sent 8000 camels laden with the spoils of Damascus at one time into it. A large and populous city; some houses are built of stone in a most pleasant valley, with an academy for Muhammedan learning. Here the best

Pekin, (*x*) the seat of the emperor of China; and thence

silk and paper in all Asia are made: the Chan's castle is built of marble, but now it is in decay.

(*t*) *Oxus*; Lat. Gr. *i. e. swift*, like the Tygris, because it falls from very high mountains, and has a rapid stream. A great river of Tatory, rising in mount Taurus; it parts Sogdiana and Margiana, and runs into the Caspian sea on the east side. The Tatars call it Amu, which signifies the same: and the Arabians call it Gibeon, *i. e. force*; because the source of it bursteth out of the earth with vast violence. There Cyrus was defeated by Tomyris queen of the Scythians or Tatars, about A.M. 3420; and Sabacham of Zagathian Tatory, by Ismael Sophy of Persia, A.D. 1514.

(*u*) *Temir*, or *Timur-Lenc*, by the Arabians, and *Temir-Cuthi* by the Tatars; Tatar. *i. e. happy or fortunate iron*; because of his victorious sword; and Tamerlane by us. A most victorious prince of the posterity of Zingis Chan, born April 6, A.D. 1336, in the city of Keish or Skehrsobz, *i. e. the green city*; about thirty miles from Samarcand. He began to reign A.D. 1370; and, like Alexander the Great, in 35 years subdued more kingdoms, than the old Romans did in 800 years, *viz.* Babylon, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, Parthia, Egypt, India, China; and boasted that he had three parts of the world under his power. He defeated the proud Bajazet (Turk. *i. e. lightning*; for the expedition of his conquests) and all the Turkish army, in that great battle near mount Stella in the plains of Angoria in Galatia, July 28, A.D. 1402. He was cruel, but a vast encourager of the Christians, though a Muhammedan by profession; and died three years after that grand victory, Feb. 8, 1405, at a village called Atrar and Otrar, distant from Samarcand about 304 miles; lived 70 years, 11 months, and 23 days; and was buried in a magnificent tomb erected by himself for that purpose at Samarcand: but his sons lost all his conquests; of him the present Moguls are descended. He and Agesilaus, the sixth king of Sparta, were both lame of one foot, yet very valiant and successful generals. He was called the Wrath of God, and the Destroyer of the earth; and Aleric the king of the Goths, who plundered Rome, A.D. 410, and conquered the Roman empire, the scourge of God; for their cruelty.

(*x*) *Paquin*, *Pekin*, or *Pecheli*; Chinese, *i. e. the northern court*; because it is the north of China, as Nankin, *i. e. the*

to Agra, (*y*) and Lahor, (*z*) imperial cities of the Great

southern court, for the same reason. The capital city of the province of Pekin, and the metropolis of that vast empire, since the year 1404, thirty leagues from the famous wall (which is 1200 miles long; six fathoms high, built in twenty-seven years by 70,000,000 men, to keep out the Tartars, about A.M. 3723, and 300 before Jesus Christ) in a fertile plain, in the form of a vast square; each side being twelve Chinese lys or furlongs in length, *i. e.* 3600 paces, with 12 gates, stately palaces and temples, wherein are idols of massy gold, as big as the life. The streets are very straight, and at the longest 120 feet, but very dirty. It is the largest and most beautiful city on the face of the earth. There is a most prodigious bell, weighing 120,000 pounds; it is 11 feet diameter, and 12 feet high.

(*y*) *Agra*; Indian. The capital city of the province of Agra, larger than Dehli (Mog. *i. e.* a vast extent) and a great city in India; being nine miles, in the form of a half moon, with a mighty and admirable castle. It stands upon the river Gemn or Gemini, on this side the Ganges, and is the metropolis of the Mogul's empire; but the houses are low, mean, made up of straw, at a good distance and encompassed with high walls, that their women may not be seen. It lies in 22 degrees and a half northern latitude, 210 from Surat, 150 from Lahor, and 35 from Dehli. Some reckon 25,000 Christian families there, besides heathens; but the Muhammedans are most in number. Agra was made the imperial city by Moghol Akbar, A.D. 1566, who called it Akbarabed, *i. e.* the habitation of Akbar. Shah Jehah (Pers. *i. e.* King John) removed from Agra to Dehli, March 29, A.D. 1647, and called it Shah Jehanabed, *i. e.* the habitation of King John. Dehli pays 3,125,000*l.* of yearly revenues to the emperor.

(*z*) *Lahor*, or *Lhor*; Pers. from the Heb. *i. e.* *light*. The capital city of the province or kingdom of Lahor, which contains several kingdoms. It is three leagues in length, yields 37 millions *per ann.* to the Mogul, and there the emperors kept their court, from A.D. 1155, until they removed to Agra; since it is very much diminished. There is a noble walk of tall trees on both sides of the road from it to Agra, which is 150 miles distant. The province of Lahor is called also Pengah, Pers. *i. e.* the city of five waters; because it is watered by five rivers, viz. Bawy, Behat, Obcham, Wili, and Sindar. Many will have this country to be the kingdom of King Porus, who

Mogul; (a) down to the Golden Chersonese: (b) or where the emperor of Persia (c) sat in Ecbatan, (d) or since

so valiantly opposed Alexander the Great; and Lahor to be the Bucephalia, which he founded in the memory of his famous charging horse, called Bucephalus, Gr. *i. e. the ox-head*, who died there not of his wounds, but of old age: for he was the next conqueror after Bacchus, who opened a communication to the Indies, as far as China, 330 years before the incarnation, which facilitated the propagation of the gospel to St. Thomas, Bartholomew, Pantæus, and other zealous preachers; and Tamerlane was the next, Lahor is 360 miles from Agra to the south, and 180 miles east of Multan.

(a) *Moghul*, or *Moghol*; Tatar. *i. e. white*; because they descended from the Moghol Tatars, or some white men, who invaded India under a captain or king called Mogor or Mogol; and erected a kingdom in Bengal, &c. about *A.D.* 1187. In the Tatarian Mung Lang signifies melancholy; because Mogul or Mungal the son of Alanza Chan, the first monarch, was a man of a melancholy disposition: their country, which lies in Turcestan Tartary, is called still Moghelstan. The present Moguls are the race of the famous Tamerlane, who conquered India, *A.D.* 1400. Now the Moguls are emperors of all India, extending from Persia on the west, Tartary on the north, China on the east, and the Indian ocean on the south; they are the richest monarchs upon earth, and their dominions are of the vastest extent, being divided into thirty-five different kingdoms. He and some of his subjects are Muhammedans; the rest are idolaters, except some Europeans, who trade there.

(b) *Chersonese*, Lat. Gr. *i. e. a peninsula*. A geographical term; because it is a piece of land surrounded with sea, but at one place, which unites it to the continent or main land; an isthmus. Many places are so called, but this is a vast tract of land, comprehending the large peninsula of Ganges, the most southern part of the East Indies, between Sumatra and Borneo, called by the ancients the Golden Chersonese; because it abounded with gold: now the promontory of Malaca; from Malaca the chief city of it.

(c) Emperor of Persia, whose royal seat was Ecbatan. Persia in sacred scripture is called Cuth, Heb. *i. e. lurking* or *hidden*; also Elam, and the people Elamites; from Elam the son of Sem, who first settled there with his posterity. In the reign of Cyrus, about *A.M.* 3419, before Christ 534, it began first to be

in Ispahan: (*e*) or where the Czar (*f*) of Russia sat

called Persia, Heb. *i. e.* horsemen or troopers; because he taught those people the use of war and horses. The Persians and Tartars call it Iris or Iran, from Irige, eldest son of Fraydun, seventh king of the first race of their monarchs. It is the most ancient and renowned empire in both divine and human history. It is about 1440 miles in length, and 1260 in breadth, in the middle of Asia; having Tartary and the Caspian sea on the north, the river Indus on the east, the Indian ocean on the south; Euphrates, Tygris, and the Persian gulf on the west; and consists of eleven vast provinces, besides other acquisitions. Now the inhabitants call it Farsitan, and the empire of the Sophy.

(*d*) *Ecbatan*, or *Ecbatana*; Arab. *i. e.* of *divers colours*; because the walls and towers were built of seven different coloured stones, which did cast a glorious splendor. It is called Achemetha, Esdr. vi. 2. and by the inhabitants Tebris, Casbin, now Tauris. It was built by Seleucus, according to Pliny; repaired and enlarged by Arphaxad, whom some call Dejoces. See Judith i. 1, 2, 3, 4. about A.M. 3400, according to Herodotus. It was the first capital of Media, then of Persia; was the richest city in the world, and consisted of many stately palaces, courts, sepulchres of their emperors, and of their whole treasures. There Daniel the prophet erected an admirable palace. The emperors of Persia had four noble palaces; they resided at Ecbatana in the winter, at Susa in the summer, at Persepolis in the autumn, and Babylon in the rest of the year. The Turks sacked it often, but the Persians have kept possession of it since A.D. 1603.

(*e*) *Ispahan*, by some *Hagistan*, by the Americans *Spuhun*, and now *Isfahan*, Pers. *i. e.* the *happy city*, or the *city of the Whites*. The metropolis of all Persia, in the province of Iraca or Erach, the ancient Parthia; it is 70 miles south from Casbin, 80 north from Ormus. Seach Abbas the emperor of Persia, fixed his royal seat there, beautified, enlarged, and enriched it; and there his successors have kept their courts these 200 years past. It is thought to be the ancient Aspadama or Spada, and was called Hecatompolis, Gr. *i. e.* having 100 gates, but now 7. It is one of the greatest cities upon earth, walled round with earthen walls, which is a singular thing in Persia, about thirty miles round, in a very fruitful plain, and washed by the river Zenderu, which is as broad and deep as the river Thames is at London; very rich, of a vast trade from all places, and populous;

in Moscow; (*g*) or the Turkish sultan (*h*) in Bizan-

they reckon a million of souls in it; having 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 inns, 273 baths, 12 large burying places, which are without the city, as they are over all Persia; and so they were over all the earth, until about 1000 years ago; but some houses take up 20 acres of ground. The Armenians have an archbishop and 20 churches in it. It is about 2000 miles from Constantinople to the south-east, and 2600 from London. There is also the first madresha or academy of all the nine that are in Persia.

(*f*) *Czar*; or *Tzar*, i. e. *king* or *Sclavon. the emperor*. A title of the emperors of Muscovy or Russia. It was first assumed by Iwan Wasielewitz, when he conquered the city of Cuscan, and was crowned there, A.D. 1552.

(*g*) *Moscow* or *Moskowa*; Heb. from the Moschi or Mosci, an ancient people, who descended from Mesech, the son of Japhet, Gen. x. 2. Ezek. xxvii. 13. xxxviii. 3. and first inhabited the country of Colehis. It is the chief city of Muscovy, upon the banks of the river Muscow, and gives the name to that vast empire in the north of Europe. This city is old, large, populous, and rich; built of wood, ill contrived, not paved, and was founded A. D. 1334. The chief church called Jerusalem, was founded by John Basilides I. But he put out the eyes of the architect, that he might never contrive nor build such another. The Tartars burnt 80,000 houses of it, A.D. 1571. The Poles 41,000; and destroyed about 200,000 souls, A.D. 1611. It was again laid in ashes, A.D. 1699, 1701. It is about 16 miles in compass, and contains about 700,000 inhabitants. It abounds with merchants out of all nations, and was made the royal seat of the empire by John duke of Russia about 300 years ago. It stands in the middle of the country, fenced with lakes and three strong walls. It is about 750 miles from Stockholm to the east, 750 from Warsaw to the north, 1000 miles from Constantinople to the north-east, and 1500 miles distant from Paris and London. The empire is vast and large, in length about 1699, and about 1100 miles in breadth. See B. X. N. 431. The Muscovites were rude and barbarous heathens, until they embraced Christianity from the Grecians, A.D. 986, printing, A.D. 1560; and now they are trained up in all polite literature, arts and sciences by Peter the Great: their alphabet consists of 42 letters, which very much

tium, (*i*) eye could also discover the empire of Negus, (*k*)

resemble the Greek ones. The history of the Moscovites doth not rise above 200 years past.

(*h*) *Turkish Sultan*; because the Turks settled there first, and afterwards broke through the Caspian straits, and settled in Armenia, about A.D. 844. At that time the Caspian sea was froze over 13 foot deep, and men walked 100 miles on the ice of it. A kingdom or province of Zagathian Tartary, lying between Great Tartary and the empire of the Great Mogul, on the east of Cathay or Catha, having Tartaria Propria on the north; and Indostan on the south, and on the east side of the Caspian sea. Some take it to be the kingdom of Thebet, in the said Tartary. Here, the emperors of the Turks, who are descended from the ancient Turks of Tartary.

(*i*) *Bizantium*; from Bizas, the captain of the Megarean fleet, the first founder of it: it was first called Lygus, from its founder; afterwards repaired by Pausanias king of Sparta, about A.M. 3307. An ancient city of Thrace, and the last in Europe on the Bosphorus Thracius (See B. II. 1018.) It was destroyed by Sept. Severus, after a siege of three years, and turned into a village, about A.D. 196, to punish the citizens for revolting; but rebuilt, enlarged and beautified by Constantine the Great, who made it the royal seat of the Roman empire, which proved the ruin of it, and commanded it to be called New Rome, A.D. 300. But it is commonly called after him Constantinople, *i. e.* the city of Constantine. It was also called Parthenopolis, *Gr. i. e.* the city of the virgin; because it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The Turks call it Stamboul; which they say signifieth fair, peace, and plenty. It answers to these properties indeed; but Stamboul or Istambol is corrupted for Eis ten polin, *Gr. i. e.* into the city, and commonly the Port; because it is the greatest and finest port they have, or perhaps is in the world; being frequented by merchants from all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa continually. Muhammed II. took it from the Greeks A.D. 1453, and since it has been the grand seat of the Turkish empire: it yields the fairest prospect without of any city, but the meanest within: it is 900 miles from Rome, 1460 off Paris, 1570 from London, 1850 from Madrid, and 1000 from Moscow.

(*k*) *Negus*, or *Neguz*; Ethiop. *i. e.* emperor. The emperor of Abissinia in Upper Ethiopia; a title which the Abissines bestow upon their prince.

to its utmost port Eroco; (*l*) and the less maritime kingdoms of Mombaza, (*m*) and Quiloa, (*n*) and Melind, (*o*)

(*l*) *Eroco*, *Erquico*, *Arquien*, and by others *Erroco*; Ethiop. It is a seaport town of Ethiopia or the Red sea, near the Persian ocean, with a fine harbour and a very good trade, and was the outmost boundary of the vast Abyssinian empire, to the north-east of Africa.

(*m*) *Mombaza*, *Monbaza*, or *Mombazza*; Arab. For this, and several cities on that coast, were built by a colony of the Arabs, who about *A.D.* 930, settled a trade there. A very large and wealthy city, having a good trade, and is the capital of a small kingdom of the same name, in a little island, 12 miles in compass; 70 miles from Melind, 150 leagues from Quiloa, near the line, in the Eastern ocean; subject to the emperor of Ethiopia in Zanguebar, but very fruitful and populous: it was once possessed by the Portuguese, but now subject to the king of Mombosa, who calls himself emperor of the world. Zanguebar and Zingebbar, Ind. comes from Bar; *i. e.* the coast of the Zinges or Nigros, who first traded there with the Arabs, about *A.D.* 930.

(*n*) *Quiloa*, or *Kiloa*; Ethiopic. A capital, rich, and pleasant city, upon a river, and in an island of the same name, between Mosambique and Melind, on the east shore of Africa, near Zanguebar, in Ethiopia Inferior. This kingdom extended 250 leagues along the coast, until Francis de Almeyda burnt the city, and made the kingdom tributary to Portugal, *A.D.* 1505. But the natives rebuilt it, and pay a yearly tribute to the king of Portugal. They speak the Arabic, and are Muhammedans. The kings of Quiloa were masters of Mombaza, Melinda, and other islands thereabout. The Arabs traded first there, then the Muhammedans, and at last the Portuguese.

(*o*) *Melind*, or *Melinda*; Ethiop. The capital of a small kingdom on the coast of Zanguebar, between Mombaza and Pata, belonging to Ethiopia Superior, near the lake Calice. The town is near the sea, with a convenient port: the king of it made a league with Emanuel king of Portugal, *A.D.* 1500. The city is very rich, and abounds with great plenty; their sheep are so fat, that the tail of them often weighs 30 pounds, and some more. The king of Melinda is served in great state and splendor, is a Muhammedan, as are most of his subjects; the rest are heathens.

and Sofala, (*p*) which is thought to be Ophir,) (*q*) to the realm of Congo, (*r*) and Angola, (*s*) farthest south:

(*p*) *Sofala, Sophala, or Zophala; Ethiop.* A petty kingdom in Lower Ethiopia, between the river Magnice on the south, and the river Cuama to the north; so called from Sofala, the capital of it, which is situated in a little island upon the Ethiopic ocean. It is supposed by some to be the Ophir (Heb. *rich*; because it abounded with gold, pearls, ivory, peacocks, &c. See 2 Chron. viii. 18.) to which king Solomon sent his fleet; from the abundance of gold and other rich commodities of it. There merchants of Arabia Felix, afterwards the Muhammedans, established their religion, and settled a great trade there; and the Portuguese since. Milton follows this opinion here. All this vast tract on the sea coast is called Caffraria, and the people Caffers, i. e. *infidels*, who have no religion. There being a different people within 40 or 42 miles from one another, they have continual wars among themselves.

(*q*) *Ophir; Heb. Arab. i. e. abounding in riches; being a place where the purest gold abounded; about which there are many conjectures among the learned: or from Ophir, the son of Joktan, the son of Sem, who first settled there. There is one of that name in Arabia, whence king David brought much gold; another in the East Indies, from which king Solomon and Hiram king of Tyre fetched gold and many other valuable commodities; which some now take to be the island of Ceylon, where there is an haven called Hippor, and the Phœnicians, Ophir; others Pegu; some Sumatra, Japan, Taprobna, Sofala, &c.*

(*r*) *Congo; Ethiop.* It is a vast country, called by some Lower Guinea, which has part of negroland on the north, Ethiopia on the east, Caffaria on the south, the ocean and Guinea on the west, and lies on the western shore of Africa in the Lower Ethiopia; so called from the capital city. Others call it Manicongo, i. e. the province of Congo. It is very fruitful, abounds with all sorts of very good fruits, plants, herbs, beasts, crocodiles, and serpents; some of these serpents are so very large, that they devour a whole stag at once. Congo is divided into six provinces, *viz.* Bamba, Songo, Sunda, Pango, Patta and Penba. The inhabitants were converted to the Christian faith by the Portuguese, A.D. 1490; but forsook it, because the plurality of wives was denied them, as Sir Walter Raleigh says.

(*s*) *Angola; Ethiop.* The ancient and true name of it was Ambonde, and the people were called Ambondes; until one of

or thence, from the flood of Niger, (*t*) to mount Atlas, the kingdoms of Almanzor; (*u*) Fez, (*x*) and Susa, (*y*)

their princes, called Mani-Angola, *i. e.* the governor of Angola, about 360 years ago, with the assistance of the Portuguese subdued many petty neighbouring kings, and made himself sole monarch of them. He, for his mighty acts, was called in their language Irene, *i. e.* *The Great*; and from his name this kingdom was called Angola. This kingdom is situated between Malaman on the south, Malemba on the east, and Proper Congo on the west, near the line; is well watered, very fruitful, and populous; so that the king can raise an army of 100,000 men. The people on the sea coast are Christians; but those in the inland regions are heathens.

(*t*) *Niger*, or *Nigir*; Lat. *i. e.* *black*; because it runs through a soil all covered over with dust, that is black and scorched with the sun. It is the greatest river on that side of Africa, rising out of a lake of the same name in the country of Medra, of Upper Ethiopia, divides Nigritia (Lat. *i. e.* the land of the Blacks) into two parts, east and west, makes a lake called Borno, passes by Congo, there it makes another lake called Guarda; and after a course of 750 German miles westward, falls into the Atlantic ocean by six great streams, near Cape Verd. It overflows its banks as the Nile and many other rivers do, for eight days in the month of June, and from the same natural cause. The people of Nigritia are all Pagans.

(*u*) *Almanzor*, rather *Almansor*; Arab. *i. e.* *the victor*; as Seleucus king of Syria was styled Nicator, Gr. *i. e.* *a victor*. Joseph Almanzor I. was king of Morocco, who invaded Spain with 60,000 horse and 100,000 foot, A.D. 1158. He usurped the territories of the Spanish Moors, who invited him over, was beaten by the Christians, and slain with an arrow at the siege of Santaren in Portugal.

(*x*) *Fez*, rather *Fess* and *Fessa*; Arab. *i. e.* *sprinkled with dust*: spread out or large: or from *Phaz* or *Paz*, Heb. *i. e.* *fine gold*; because gold abounded thereabout. A large wide kingdom on the west of Barbary, having the Mediterranean sea on the north, the Atlantic ocean on the west, the river Mulvia on the east, mount Atlas and the river Ommirati on the south, which part it from Morocco. The country is mountainous and desert; but in some places it produces all manner of grain, almonds, figs, very large grapes, cattle, leopards, the best horses

Morocco and Algiers, (*z*) and Tremisen: (*a*) from thence

in all Barbary, and the fiercest lions in all Africa. It belongs to the emperor of Morocco, is divided into seven provinces, and is so called from Fez the capital city, which was so called from Phuts or Phut, the son of Ham: for there is the river Phthuth near a river of the same name, and another called Sebon. It is about 12 miles round, and contains many gardens, palaces, mosques, and about 300,000 people; of whom there are about 5000 Jews, and many rich merchants. The chief mosque in Fez is a mile and a half in compass, the roof is 150 yards long and 80 broad; it hath 30 large gates, and above 300 cisterns to wash in. By other writers this country is called Lybia.

(*y*) *Susa*; from Sus, the principal city, and a river of the same name; Arab. i. e. *a lily*. Another kingdom of Morocco, containing seven provinces, not well known as yet. It hath Morocco on the north, the kingdom of Taflet on the east, the Atlantic ocean on the west, and is not far from mount Atlas.

(*z*) *Algiers*; Arab. i. e. *the island*; on account of a small island opposite to the mole. The largest kingdom in Barbary, about 6000 miles from east to west, and 250 from north to south, upon the Mediterranean sea, over against Minorea, and 100 miles from Sallee. It was the capital of Mauritania, in the days of king Juba, and has been subject to the Romans, Goths, Arabians, &c. The present inhabitants are Moors, who settled there after their expulsion out of Spain, *A.D.* 1492. It is now very rich, and the most noted pirates in Africa abound there. The English burnt their ships in 1655 and 1670. The French bombarded their city in 1688. The city is one of the finest, largest, strongest, richest, and most populous in all Africa: the city is a league about. The Africans call it Muzgunna, from the Bene Muzgunna, i. e. the sons of Muzgunna, who first founded it, long before the Romans: the Arabs call it Al-Jezirat; the Moors, Izeir; the Turks, Jezair; and the Europeans, Alger, Algiers, Alger, &c. It lies in a spacious bay close by the sea, at the bottom of a steep hill. The mole was begun by Heyradin Barbarossa, i. e. Red-Beard, a pirate, *A.D.* 1531.

(*a*) *Tremisen*, *Tremizen*, properly Flemizen; Arab. The Arabs call it Marsa, i. e. *a port*; and Al-kibir, i. e. *the great*; being the Portus magnus of the ancients; the finest, safest, and largest harbour in all Africa, but now it is a poor remnant of a vast kingdom. A kingdom of Barbary, west of

he saw Europe, and where Rome was to bear dominion over the rest of the world. Perhaps he also saw in the spirit, rich Mexico, (*b*) the seat of Montezume;

Algiers, about 300 miles from Tremissa; the capital city, which is very large, populous, and noble. It hath Fez on the west, Tunis on the east, and the Mediterranean sea on the north. The Romans called it Cæsarea Mauritania. Some say this city was the royal seat of king Juba, and called Julia. This kingdom is about 380 miles long, but not above 25 miles broad.

(*b*) *Mexico; American*, i. e. a *spring* or *fountain*, which rises out of a little hill, called Chapultepecs, three miles from the city, but conveyed in two pipes upon arches of stone and brick: or from Mexiti, the first founders of it under Mexi their captain, about *A.D.* 720: or from Mexitili, their grand idol. The first name of it was *Tenuchitan*, i. e. a *fruit out of a stone*; because it was first founded near a great stone, and tree bearing sweet fruit, called Nuchtli; and by the Spaniards, Tunas; wherefore Mexico beareth for its arms, a tree springing out of a stone. It standeth in the middle of two lakes, like Venice in the Adriatic sea, and Mantua a fine city of Italy, in a lake 5 miles long; one is fresh, standing water, and full of fish; the other is saltish, bitter, ebberh and floweth, but hath no kind of fish: one of them is 15 miles long, and as much broad; the other is 45 miles in circuit: it was taken, plundered and burnt by the cruel Hernando Cortez, Aug. 13. *A.D.* 1521, in the 140th year from the foundation of the royal seat there; who murdered above 1,000,000 of miserable souls. God punished them by this cruel scourge, for their abominable idolatry: for they had 2000 gods, to whom they offered human sacrifices; one time 5000: they sacrificed 20,000 men a year; so that in the great temple, human blood dashed upon the walls lay congealed above a foot thick. This city giveth name to the vast kingdom of Mexico in North America, and to the whole northern continent of it, which is about 23,000 miles round. It suffered much by an inundation of the lake, *A.D.* 1629, whereby 40,000 people perished, and by another in 1634. But now it is the richest, noblest, and most populous city in all North America, consisting of 70,000 houses, besides stately churches, courts of judicature, colleges, palaces, &c. The people are of the communion of the church of Rome, the rest Pagans.

(c) and Cusco, (d) in Peru, (e) the richer seat of Ata-

(c) *Montezume, Motezume, Molezuma, or Molencama*; American, i. e. a *surly prince*; the second of that name, and ninth king of Mexico; one of the mightiest emperors upon earth; he had 2000 tributary kings; his *topac*, i. e. palace; was most magnificent and immensely rich, his attendance and grandeur incredibly noble; until Ferdinand Cortes with 9000 Spaniards, assisted with the people of Thascala (Amer. i. e. a *land of bread*, or a *lady of bread*, from Teal, i. e. a *lady*, and Tescal, i. e. a *cake or bread*) vanquished his army, consisting of 350,000 men, from A.D. 1518 to 1521, and have possessed Mexico ever since.

(d) *Cusco or Cuzco*; Amer. A vast country of South America, from the capital and royal city of their Inge or Yncas. i. e. kings. The city stands in a plain among hills, in a fine air, a pleasant and fruitful land, and is as beautiful as any city in Europe: the walls were built of four-square stone with wonderful art and labour; though they had not an iron tool, but grinded them upon others, and covered them with plates of solid gold and silver. It was divided into Hanan Cusco, i. e. the *higher Cusco*; and Harin Cusco, i. e. the *lower Cusco*; and so vastly rich, that Francis Pizardus, who sacked it, got such incredible treasures, that the fifth part, which fell to the king of Spain, came to 400,000 florins; for all the gold and silver of Peru was carried thither; but since then it is very much impaired in every respect. It was ruined by an earthquake, A.D. 1650.

(e) *Peru or Perou*; Amer. i. e. a *fisherman or seaman*; because the Spaniards asked one of the natives the name of the country, who answered Perou, which signifies so much in their language. All the south of America, from the straits of Magellan to the Isthmus of Darien or Panama, about 4000 miles in length, and 17,000 in compass, is called Peru; which is a large peninsula, like Africa. Here, a particular kingdom of it, the best of them all, and vastly rich in gold, silver, and diamonds. This is bounded on the north with *Terra Firma*, on the east with the country of the Amazons, and Rio de la Plata; on the south with Chili, and on the west with the South sea; 1400 miles in length, and about 400 in breadth. It was discovered by Columbus, A.D. 1496. By Alausa, by Vespuccius; and conquered by Francis Pizarro, A.D. 1525. But since that time it is very much decayed and ruinous.

balipa; (*f*) and Guiana, (*g*) not yet plundered and en-

(*f*) *Atabalipa*, or *Atabaliba*; Amer. The last and one of the most magnificent and peaceable emperors of Peru. Francis Pissarus, with 150 foot and a few horse, conquered him with 25,000 men, and many millions of miserable people; but after the prince had given him a house full of refined gold and silver, valued at fifteen millions, to save his life, the cruel villain strangled him, contrary to his faith and promise, *A.D.* 1533. The seat of the Peruvian emperors had been at Cusco for 400 years; therefore all these immense riches were amassed therein; so that the royal Palace, the Temple of the Sun, the walls and houses were covered with gold and silver; their pots and other utensils were of the same metal; which Milton takes notice of here.

(*g*) *Guiana*, *Gujana*, or *Guaiana*; Amer. A large country of South America, under the line, well watered, and the most fruitful and beautiful place in the world; they have an everlasting spring; and count a man dies young, if he does not live above 100 years. It is called so from the river Wia or Wiana; and by our sailors the North Cape; because it is the most remarkable land on the north coast of Peru. It is bounded on the north and east with the Atlantic ocean, on the south with the river of the Amazons, and on the west with the river Oroonoko: it is about 400 miles in length, and 150 in breadth. The inhabitants are still cannibals, *Lat. i. e. men-eaters*, like dogs, and very savage pagans. It was discovered *A.D.* 1541, by the Spaniards. When Milton wrote this, the country had not been robbed and enslaved by them, as others of Mexico and Peru had been; but now it is inhabited by the English, French, Dutch, and other Europeans. The river Amazone is certainly the greatest, richest, and most fertile river upon the face of the earth; (if we may except Rio de la Plata, which is navigable for the greatest ships, above 200 leagues, and sixty leagues wide at the mouth.) It is about 1276, some say 1800 Spanish leagues, *i. e.* about 4408 English miles in length. It runs from the west of Peru, to the Eastern ocean, 84 leagues broad at the mouth, and is replenished with 1000 other rivers through its course, washing many rich countries. The old name of it was *Pajan quiris*, *i. e. the great river*; and *Hohio*, *i. e. the fair river*: but the Europeans called it and the country so, at their first discovering of it; because they saw many warlike women upon the banks of it, opposing their landing and con-

slaved; whose great city the sons of Geryon (*h*) call El Dorado. (*i*) But Michael for nobler sights removed the film from the eyes of Adam, which that false fruit had occasioned, that had promised to give them clearer sight; then the angel purged the visual nerve with eye-bright and rue (for he had much to see) and dropt three drops of water into his eyes from the well of life. So great power these ingredients had over Adam, that they pierced even to the utmost seat of his mind; and he, not being longer able to refrain from closing his eyes, sunk down, and all his spirits became entranced; but the angel soon raised him up gently by the hand, and thus recalled his attention:

Adam! now open thy eyes; and first behold the effects, which thy original sin hath wrought on some who

quest, resembling the ancient Amazons B. IX. N. 1110. See a survey of it, performed at the order of the king of Spain, by M. Christ. d'Acugna, translated into English, 1699.

(*h*) *Geryon*; Gr. i. e. a brawler. A king of Catalonia in Spain, who founded Granada, a city of Catalonia, and called it by his own name. The poets say he had three bodies, i. e. he was a gigantic tyrant, and king of three kingdoms, viz. Majorca, Minorca, and Ebusa; though he was rather a king of Epirus, as the learned Bochart proves; but Hercules slew him for his cruelty. By Geryon's sons Milton means the Spaniards.

(*i*) *El Dorado*, or *Elderado*, the golden city; from Eldorado, i. e. a gilder; Sp. from the Lat. *aurum*, gold; as Babylon is called the golden city, because of the vast treasure therein, Isa. xiv. 4. Manoa or a Manhoa, the capital and royal city of Guiana; the greatest of South America, and perhaps on earth, for Diego Ordas, one of Cortez's companions, entered it at noon and travelled until night, before he came to the king's palace; and there he saw so much gold in coin, plate, armour, and other utensils, that the Spaniards called it by this new name: it stands upon the west shore of the great lake Parima. The Spaniards say, the Peruvians built it, when they fled from their cruelty and tyranny. Others, it is a chimera, and the philosopher's stone of the Spaniards; for many have attempted to find it, but in vain.

are to spring from thee; who never touched the forbidden fruit, nor conspired with the serpent; nor committed sin; yet from that crime of thine derived corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.

Adam opened his eyes, and beheld a field, part arable, and that had been tilled, whereon there lay sheaves of corn newly reaped; the other part of the field was sheep-walks and sheep-folds, and in the midst there stood a plain altar of green turf, which was as a land-mark between: thither, after a while, a sweaty reaper brought from his tillage first fruits; the green ear, and the yellow sheaf, unchosen, as they came to hand: next came a shepherd, with meeker looks, bringing the firstlings (*k*) of his flock, the choicest and the best; then sacrificing, laid the intrails and the fat of the lambs, strewed with incense, upon wood that he had hewn, and performed all due rites: his offering was soon consumed by fire from heaven; but the offering of the former not, for his was not sincere: whereat he inwardly raged, and as they talked, he rose up against him and slew him; striking him into the midriff with a stone: he fell down, and growing deadly pale, he groaned out his soul with an effusion of gushing blood. Adam, much dismayed in his heart at the sight, in haste cried out to the angel:

O Teacher! some great mischief hath happened to that meek Man, who had sacrificed with a pure heart: is piety and true devotion rewarded after this manner.

(*k*) *Firstlings*; Sax. *O. E.* from *first*: the young of cattle, which were first brought forth. Here the first fruits of every thing the earth and the flocks yielded, which were offered to God, as a sacrifice of thankfulness. This custom was handed down among all nations by tradition. It was made a law in Israel, 2000 years after this, that none might eat young lambs, corn, bread, or any fruits, until they brought an offering to God first, Levit. xxiii. 14. And such laws were made long after that, among the Greeks, Latins, and other nations.

To whom Michael answered thus: (he being himself also moved) These, Adam, are two brethren, and are to descend immediately from thee: the unjust hath for envy slain the just, because his brother's offering found acceptance from heaven, and his not; but the bloody deed will be avenged, though here thou hast seen him die, rolling in dust and blood.

To which our first father made answer: Alas! both for the deed, and that which is the cause of it! but, is this that I have now seen death? is this the way that I must return again to my native dust? O sight of terror! foul and ugly only to see, horrid to think of; then alas, how terrible must it be to feel?

To whom Michael replied: Thou hast seen Death in his first shape, exerting his power over Man: but there are many ways of dying, and entering into that dark state: all of them are very dismal; and yet to the senses are more terrible at the entrance, than they are within. Some (as thou hast just now seen) shall die by the stroke of violence, and some by fire, flood, or famine; but more by intemperance in meats and drinks, which shall bring dire diseases upon the earth: of which there shall appear a monstrous crew before thee; that thou mayest know what misery the eating of the forbidden fruit shall bring on men.

Immediately there appeared a place before his eyes, sad, noisome, and dark; it seemed a lazaret-house, wherein were laid numbers of people, sick of all manner of diseases: all maladies of ghastly cramps and distortions, faint sickness, agony at heart; all kinds of fevers, convulsions, falling sickness, catarrhs, the stone, ulcers, cholic pangs, raving madness, moping melancholy, lunacy, pining consumption, hectic, pestilence, dropsies, and asthmas, and rheumatisms. It was very dreadful, to see the sick tossing and throwing themselves about! and to hear their deep groans! every bed

or couch having one on it, despairing of life; and death seemed to be ready at hand to triumph over them; but yet delayed his stroke, though so often called upon as their chiefest good, and last and only hope. Who, unless his heart were hard as stone, could behold with dry eyes a sight so full of sorrow and deformity? Adam was not able, but wept, though he was not born of woman: compassion overcame all the strength of his nature as a Man, and he wept a considerable space of time; until consideration and firmer thought put a restraint upon the excess of his tears, and scarcely able to utter his words for sorrow, he renewed his complaint:

O miserable mankind! to what I fall degraded! and to what a wretched state reserved! it were better to end here, and never be born! why is life given, to be snatched in this manner from us? rather, why is it forced thus upon us? who if we knew what we were to receive, would either not accept life when offered us; or having once accepted of it, beg to lay it down, and be glad to be so dismissed in peace? can the image of God in Man (created once so goodly and so erect, though since fallen into guilt) thus be debased to such unsightly sufferings, under such inhuman pains? why should not Man, who still in part retains the likeness and image of God, be free and exempt from such deformities, in consideration that his Maker's image is stamped upon him?

Their Maker's image forsook them, answered the archangel, then, when they sunk, and lessened themselves so, that they broke his command to serve unguided appetite, and took upon them his image, whom they then served; following the vice of a brute, in eating the fruit of the forbidden tree; for by the serpent's eating, Eve was induced to sin. Therefore their punishment by distemper, is as abject; not disfiguring God's likeness, but theirs: or, if it be the likeness of

God, it is defaced by themselves, while they pervert the pure healthful rules of nature to loathsome sickness; and it is just it should have this effect, since they did not reverence the image of God in themselves.

I grant, said Adam, that all this is just, and I submit: but is there not yet another way, besides these painful passages, how we may suffer Death, and mix with the earth out of which we were made?

There is, replied Michael, another way not painful, if thou observe the rule well, of taking nothing to excess; but be careful to observe temperance in eating and drinking; seeking from thence, not to satisfy a gluttonous desire, but due nourishment: so mayest thou live, until many years pass over thy head; until thou drop like ripe fruit, down to thy mother earth; or being quite ripened for Death, be gathered with ease, and not plucked harshly. This is old age; but then thou must outlive thy youth, and all thy strength and beauty; all which will change, and thou be withered, weak, and gray-haired: thy senses then will become unactive, nor have any relish of pleasure, like what thou hast now: and, for the air of youth (cheerful and full of hope and joy) a melancholy damp of coldness will reign in thy blood, oppress and weigh down thy spirits; and lastly, consume the balm, and extinguish the lamp of life.

To whom our first ancestor replied: Henceforward, I will not fly from Death, nor would I much prolong life; but rather be glad to know, how I might best and easiest get rid of that load which I must keep, until the day appointed to render it up, and attend with patience the time of my dissolution!

To this Michael replied: Neither love nor hate life; but all the time thou livest, live well; whether for few or many days, leave that to the will of God; and now prepare thyself to see another sight.

Adam looked and saw a spacious plain, upon which there were tents (*l*) of different sizes and colours: by some there were cattle grazing; from others might be heard the melodious sound of instruments; the harp, and organ; and he was seen, who moved their stops and chords, his nimble fingers going through all proportions, low and high, corresponded in all the parts. In another part stood one (*m*) labouring at a forge, who melted two massy pieces of iron and brass (whether found where accidental fire had destroyed the woods, upon some mountain or valley, down to the veins of the earth; thence flowing hot to some cave's mouth: or whether washed by streams from under ground) he drained the liquid ore into moulds fitly prepared; from which he first formed the tools he was to work with; and then what else might be wrought or cast in metal. After these, on the hither side of the plain, a different sort of people descended from the high neighbouring hills, which was their habitation: by their appearance they seemed just men, and the whole purpose of their study to worship God rightly, and to know his works, which are not hidden; nor to know those things last, which might preserve freedom and peace to men: they had not walked long upon the plain, when behold a company of fair women issued forth from the tents, wan-

(*l*) *Tents*; Fr. from the Lat. i. e. *holding* or *containing*; because therein men and their household stuff were contained: or from *Nata*, Heb. i. e. *stretched out*; because they were moveable habitations, extended upon the ground. A military term. *Tabernacles*, *booths*, or *pavillions*, with coverings made of canvas, to shelter men from the injuries of the air; for soldiers, when they are in the field; then four or five of them lie in one tent, &c. In the first ages of the world men lived in tents only; and so they do this day in many parts of Asia and Africa; but through Europe they are only used for soldiers.

(*m*) *One*; i. e. *Tubal Cain*, the first master of smiths, Gen. iv. 22.

tonly and gaily dressed, and adorned with jewels; they sung soft amorous songs to instruments of music, and came on, dancing: the men, though they were grave, eyed them as they passed, and let their eyes rove without restraint; until drawn by strong passion and inclination, they began to like them, and each chose her he liked: and now they began to talk of love, and let the day pass on in nothing else; then grown warm, they light the nuptial torch, and invoke Hymen, then first invoked, to give a sanction to marriage rites; all the tents resound with festival and music. Such happy interview and intercourse, the fair consequence of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers, and charming symphonies touched the heart of Adam with pleasure, who was soon inclined to admit of delight; (which is indeed too much the bent of nature!) and he thus expressed it:

Blest angel! and one of the chief of heaven! true opener of my eyes! this vision seems much better than those two passed, and foretells more hope of peaceful days: those were full of hate and Death, or pains and diseases much worse; here Nature seems to have all her ends answered:

To whom Michael spoke in this manner: Never judge of what is best by pleasure, though it may seem conformable to Nature; seeing thou art created to a nobler end, holy and pure, and in conformity with God! those tents thou sawest; which appeared so pleasant, they were the tents of wickedness; in which his race shall dwell, who slew his brother; they appear studious of arts, that polish and adorn life; and are inventors of rare and curious things; unmindful of their Maker; though his spirit taught them, but they acknowledge none of his gifts: yet they shall beget a beauteous offspring; for that fair female troop thou sawest there, they that seemed like goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, and

gay; are yet destitute of all good, wherein consists the domestic honour and chief praise of a woman; but these are bred up only and accomplished to the taste of sinful desire, and learn to dance, and dress, and lisp, and glance with their eyes. That sober race of men (whose religious lives make them be called the sons of God) shall ignobly yield up all their virtue, and all their fame, to the arts and smiles of these fair atheists; and now swim in joy and laugh, though judgment is near at hand, and all their laughing to be turned into tears!

To whom Adam made answer, convinced of the falseness of his joy on the sight of pleasure: O what a pity and shame! that they who live good lives, and begin so well, should turn aside to tread indirect paths, or faint by the way! but still I see the tenor of Man's misery holds on the same, and is to begin from Woman.

It begins, said the angel, from the effeminate slackness of Man, who by wisdom, and the superior gifts he hath received, should hold his place better: but now prepare thyself for another sight.

Adam looked, and saw a wide territory spread before him; towns, and large countries between them; cities with lofty gates and towers, full of inhabitants armed and gathered together, with fierce faces threatening war: they were great giants, and fit for bold enterprises; part wielded their arms, and part curbed the war-horses; for there was both horse and foot, in a good rank and order of battle: one way a select band drove a herd of fair cattle from foraging in a fat meadow ground, or else a flock of sheep and lambs over the plain, which they had taken as their booty: the shepherds scarcely can escape with their lives; but when fled they call assistance, which makes a bloody fray. The squadrons join in battle; and now where the cattle lately grazed, the bloody and deserted field lies scattered with carcasses and arms. Others encamped lay siege to a strong

city, assaulting it by battery, scaling, and mining: others defend it from the walls with darts, javelins, stones, and sulphurous fire; slaughter and war raging on every side. In the other part, the heralds call to council at the gates of the city; and presently assemble gray-headed and grave men mixed with warriors; and they make harangues: but faction soon makes opposition; until at last one Enoch (*n*) rising up, of middle age, distinguished from the rest by his wise deportment, spoke much of right and wrong, of justice, religion, truth, peace, and judgment from above; both young and old exploded him, and had laid violent hands upon him, had not a cloud descended, and amidst the throng snatched him thence unseen: so violence and oppression, and sword-law proceeded through all the plain, and there was no refuge to be found. Adam was all in tears to see it, and full of sad lamentation said thus to his guide:

O! what are these? these are Death's ministers, not men! who thus inhumanly deal Death to men, and ten thousand fold multiply the sin of him who slew his brother; for of whom do they make such general slaughter, but of their brethren; men of men? but who was that just Man, who, had not heaven rescued him, had been lost in and for his righteousness?

To whom Michael replied thus: These are the product of those ill-mated marriages which thou sawest, where the good are matched with the bad; who of themselves abhor to join; and being imprudently mixed, produce prodigious births of body or mind. Such these

(*n*) *Enoch* or *Hanoch*; Heb. *i. e. dedicated*. The son of Jared, and the seventh patriarch from Adam, born A.M. 622. He lived 365 years in the middle age of the world, between the creation to the flood; and the middle age of men in those days; and was translated into Paradise, without tasting of death and mortality.

giants shall be; men of exceeding high renown; for in those days, power only shall be admired, and called valour and heroic virtue: it shall be held the highest pitch of human glory to overcome in battle, and subdue nations, and bring home spoils with infinite manslaughter; and this done only for the glory of triumph, to be styled great conquerors and patrons of mankind, and be called gods and sons of gods; when they much more properly might be called destroyers and the plagues of men. Thus fame and renown shall be achieved upon earth; and that which most deserves fame, shall be hid in silence. But he, the seventh from thee, whom thou beheldest the only righteous one in a perverse world; and therefore hated, therefore so surrounded with foes, for daring singly to be just, and utter disagreeable truth, "That God would come to judge them with his saints:" Him, the most High did, as thou sawest, take up to heaven; for he was carried suddenly away, to walk with God high in salvation and the regions of bliss, being exempted from Death; to shew thee what reward attends the good, and to the evil what punishment; which now cast thy eyes forward, and thou shalt soon see:

Adam looked, and saw the appearance of things quite changed: the trumpets, that sounded so loud in the battle, ceased; all was now turned to game and jollity, to luxury, riot, feast, and dance, marrying or prostituting, just as it happened; committing adultery, or even rapes, where any degree of beauty allured them: to these vices they added drunkenness, and contentious broils. At length there came a reverend sire among them, and declared great dislike of their wicked actions, testifying against their ways; he often frequented their assemblies, going wheresoever they met, whether at triumphs or festivals; and preaching to them conversion and repentance, as to souls that were in bondage

to sin, and under imminent judgment; but it was all in vain: which when he saw, he left off contending and removed his tents far off from theirs: then hewing tall trees on the mountains, he began to build a vessel of large bulk, measured by cubits, length, breadth, and height; smeared round with pitch; and in the side he contrived a door, and laid in a large store of provision, both for man and beast: when behold a strange wonder! there came every beast, and bird, and little insect, by sevens and pairs, and entered in, as taught their order; last the reverend sire and his wife, and his three sons with their wives entered in also; and God shut them in. Mean while the south wind arose, and blowing fiercely, drove together all the clouds from under heaven; the hills sent up to fill them vapours and moist exhalations: and now the thickened sky was all overcast; the impetuous rain rushed down, and it continued raining until the earth was seen no more: the floating ark (*o*) swam upon the water, and securely floated over

(*o*) The ark of Noah. It was the first ship in the world: God gave the form and measures, and Noah was the master builder of it; and from it men took the hint of navigation. It was made of cedar or cyprus, which hath a bitter sap in it, therefore no worms touch it, and it doth not rot; for this very end, that it might be a lasting monument to future generations, both of their sin, punishment, and miraculous deliverance. Josephus and Epiphanius affirm, that the remains of it were to be seen in their times, and that was about 3000 years after the building of it. In it Noah continued a whole year and 11 days. ‘In the six hundredth year of Noah’s life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried.’ The clean beasts, or those that were appointed for sacrifices, went into the ark by sevens; that Noah might have wherewith to atone the Deity for his miraculous deliverance, which he did, Gen. viii. 20. ‘And

the waves: all other dwellings the flood overwhelmed, and with them rolled all their pomp deep under the water, one wave following upon another: the sea was without shore, and the palaces, where luxury reigned lately, became the habitation of sea monsters; all that was left of mankind, lately so numerous, embarked in one small bottom. How then, Adam, didst thou grieve, to behold the end of all thy offspring, and so sad an universal dispeopling of the world! another flood of tears and sorrow drowned thee also, and sunk thee like thy sons; until gently raised up by the angel, thou at last stoodest upon thy feet, though comfortless; as when a father mourns for his children, which are destroyed all at once in his sight. He had scarce power to utter to the angel this complaint:

What visions of ill do I foresee! how much better had it been for me, to have lived ignorant of what was to happen hereafter! so I had borne only my own part of evil, that of each day being sufficient for the day; now all those that were distributed and divided, to be the burthen of so many ages, by my foreknowledge light at once upon me; gaining an untimely birth to torment me, before their being, with the thoughts that they must be. Henceforward, let no Man desire to be foretold what shall befall him or his children; for he may be assured before-hand, that it will be evil; which his foreknowing can in no wise prevent; and as for the future evil, he shall feel it, not only actually, but

‘Noah builded an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.’ Of the unclean sort there were only two, the male and the female, to preserve and propagate every species afterwards: for he made no use of the flesh of any of these; that was not granted until the flood was over, Gen. ix. 3, 4. ‘Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things: but flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall you not eat.’

full as much in apprehension; how grievous is that to bear! but that care is past now, there are no men to give warning to, those few who have escaped famine and anguish, will at last be lost, wandering upon the barren waters. I had conceived hope, that when violence and war would have ceased upon earth, that then all would have gone well; that peace would have crowned the race of Man with length of happy days: but I find, that I was greatly deceived! for, now I perceive that peace corrupts as much as war wastes. Unfold to me, thou who art a guide from heaven! how comes it, that these things are so? and tell me, whether the race of mankind will end here?

To whom Michael made answer thus: Those, whom thou sawest last in triumph and luxurious wealth, are they who will first be seen in acts of eminent valour and great exploits, but will be destitute of true virtue; who have spilt much blood, and made a great devastation in subduing nations, and having thereby obtained in the world fame, high titles, and rich prey; shall change the course of their lives to pleasure, ease, surfeit, and lust, until wantonness and pride, even in time of peace, and among friends, shall cause strife, and hostile deeds. Those also, who are conquered, and enslaved by war, shall with their freedom lose all their virtue, and all fear of God; from whom (as they had but a pretended piety) they found no assistance in the sharp contest of battle against invaders; therefore grown cool in their zeal, they shall thenceforward practise how to live secure, either in a worldly or dissolute manner, upon what their lords and conquerors shall leave them to enjoy: (for the earth shall bear much more than enough, for the trial of temperance) so, all shall turn degenerate, all shall be depraved, and justice, temperance, truth, and faith be forgot; except,

ing Noah, (*p*) who shall be the only son of light in that dark age; he will be good against all bad example, against all allurements, customs, and an offended world: not standing in fear of reproach, scorn, or violence, he shall admonish them of their ways, and set before them the paths of righteousness, shewing how much more safe they are, and full of peace; threatening wrath to come, if they should remain impenitent; and for this teaching he shall be derided by them. But the only just Man alive, being observed by God, shall by his command build a wonderous ark (as thou hast beheld) to save himself and his household, from a world devoted to universal ruin. No sooner shall he, with those of mankind, and all living creatures selected to preserve the kind, be lodged in the ark, and shut in fast; but all the cataracts of heaven shall be set open, and pour rain day and night upon the earth; all the fountains of the deep shall be broke up, and heave the ocean beyond all its former bounds; until an inundation rise above the highest hills. Then this mount of Paradise, by the power of the waves shall be moved out of its place, by the violence of the raging flood, with all its verdures spoiled, and all its trees adrift down the great river to the main ocean; and there take root, and be a bare and salt island, be the haunt of fish, and be filled with the noise of water fowls; to teach thee, that God attributes no holiness to place, if none be brought thither by men, who frequent or dwell in it. And now behold what there is further to come to pass.

Adam looked and saw the ark floating to and fro upon the flood, which was now abated; for the clouds

(*p*) *Noah*, or *Noach*; Heb. i. e. *a rest*. Names were given men in those days, by divine inspiration: his name was a prophecy of Lamech's that that child should give rest and comfort to the new world, and reconcile God to man. Noe (whom the Tartars call Nui) was born *A.M.* 1056, and lived 950 years. Noah is the Ogyges, Deucalion, and Saturn of the heathens.

were fled away, driven by a keen north wind, that blowing hard and dry, began to lessen the bulk of the waters, and the clear sun shone hot upon the wide watery deluge (*q*) and drew up considerably from the waves; which made their flowing shrink, and they ebbed softly towards the deep; whose sluices were now stopped, and the windows of heaven shut also. The ark now floats no longer, but seems on the ground, fixed fast on the top of some high mountain: (*r*) now the tops of the hills began to appear, like rocks; from whence the rapid currents drove their furious tide, with great noise and violence, towards the retreating sea. Forthwith a raven (*s*) flies out of the ark, and after him (what proved a surer messenger) a dove, sent forth twice, to see if she could find green tree or ground, whereon to set her foot; returning the second time, she brings an olive leaf plucked off in her mouth, which

(*q*) *Deluge*; Lat. *i. e.* *washing* or *sweeping away*; an inundation or overflowing of the earth with water. There have been several deluges in different countries: this was the first, an universal one, and the most famous in history: it was in the 600th year of Noah, *A.M.* 1656. The second was that of Ogyges king of Thebes, which laid all Attica under water, *A.M.* 2185, or 2208, 1020 years before the first Olympiad, and in the days of Jacob. The third was that of Deucalion, about 15 years before the children of Israel departed out of Egypt. There was a violent one at Pekin, *A.D.* 1688.

(*r*) *Mountain*. This is called Ararat in Armenia, Gen. viii. 4. Some call it Lubar, others Baris; some the Carayæan, Gerdyæan, Godochian, and others the Carduchian mountains.

(*s*) *Raven*. A rapacious and unclean bird, Deut. xiv. 14. She was sent out first on the 17th day of August, and on the first day of the week, and 40 days after the tops of the mountains appeared, but did not return; because she is a ravenous creature, and settles upon carcasses, or any dirty grounds, which the dove doth not; and therefore she went away upon prey, but this returned to the ark: she went out of the ark on the 24th of August, and the first day of the week.

was a sign of peace between God and Noah. After a while the dry ground appears, and the ancient just Man descends from his ark with all his train: then, with hands lifted up, and with devout eyes grateful to heaven, behold over his head a dewy cloud, and in the cloud the distinct appearance of a bow, of three colours variously intermixed, betokening peace with God, and a new covenant made with Man; whereat the heart of Adam, which before had been so sad, rejoiced greatly, and thus he joyfully cried out:

Heavenly instructor! who canst represent future things, as clear as if they were present; this last sight revives me, seeing that it assures me, that Man with all the creatures shall live and preserve their seed. I do not lament now for one whole world of wicked sons being destroyed, so much as I rejoice to see one Man so perfect and so just, that God vouchsafes from him to raise another world, and to forget all his anger. But tell me, what mean those coloured streaks, that are stretched out in heaven, and look like the brow of God appeased? or do they serve as a flowery edge, to bind the fluid skirts of that same watery cloud, lest it should dissolve and shower down upon the earth?

To whom the archangel made answer: What thou hast guessed is very near to the purpose; so willingly doth God remit his anger, though so lately he repented that he had made Man, seeing he was become so much depraved; being grieved at his heart, when looking down he saw the whole earth filled with violence, and all flesh corrupt in the imagination of their thoughts: yet those once removed, one just Man shall find such grace in his sight, that he relents, and determines not to blot out mankind, and makes a covenant, that the waters shall never become a flood, to destroy the earth again, nor ever to let the sea surpass its bounds, nor rain to fall so as to drown the world, with Man or beast there-

in: but when he brings a cloud over the earth, he will set his bow in the clouds, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between God and the earth; day and night, heat and cold, seed time and harvest, shall hold their course, and not cease; until the general conflagration purge and purify both heaven and earth, wherein thenceforward the just shall dwell for ever.

THE TWELFTH BOOK

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

THE angel Michael continues from the flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that seed of the woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the fall: his incarnation, death, resurrection, and ascension: the state of the church until his second coming. Adam greatly satisfied and comforted by those relations and promises, descends the hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery sword waving behind them, and the cherubim taking their stations to guard the place.

CHAPTER I.

The angel relates what shall happen after the flood, and foretells the coming of Christ.

As a traveller upon a journey takes some rest at noon, though he be intent on expedition; so here the archangel Michael made a pause, betwixt the world destroyed and the world restored, to see whether or no Adam might not have some questions to interpose; then going forward in his narration, he began again to speak.

Thus, Adam, thou hast seen the beginning and end of the world, and Man proceeding as from a second stock: there yet remains a great deal more for thee to see; but I perceive that thy mortal sight begins to fail thee; nor can it be otherwise, for divine objects must needs impair and weary the human senses: so that what is to come henceforward, I shall only relate to thee; do thou therefore be attentive, and give proper audience to what I shall say!

This new race of men, before they arrive to large numbers, and while the dread of past judgment remains fresh in their minds, shall lead their lives in the fear of God, with some regard to justice and what is right; and they shall multiply apace, manuring and sowing the earth, and reaping plentiful crops of corn, wine, and oil; and often from the herds or flocks making sacrifices of bullocks, lambs, or kids, with large offerings of wine poured out, shall spend their days in joy and sacred festival, unblamed; and dwell for a long

time in peace, by families and tribes, under paternal rule; until one called Nimrod (*a*) shall arise, of proud and ambitious heart; who not content with a fair and equal share, will assume an undeserved dominion over the rest of his brethren, and quite dispossess concord and the law of nature from the earth; hunting wild beasts, and not only wild beasts, but men also; subduing with war, and laying hostile snares for such as refuse subjection to his tyrannical usurpation: for that reason he shall be called a mighty hunter before the Lord; meaning either in despite of heaven, or else claiming from heaven the second sovereignty; and though he shall accuse others of rebellion, yet from rebellion he shall derive his name, for such is the meaning of the word Nimrod. He, with a crew joined to him by like ambition, or design of tyrannizing under him, marching from Eden towards the west, shall find the plains, in which a black bituminous slime boils out from under the ground, as if it were the mouth of hell. Of that stuff, and bricks, they contrive to build a city, and a tower whose top may reach to heaven; thinking thereby to get themselves a name; lest, being dispersed far away in foreign lands, the memory of them should be lost; not regarding, whether the fame they acquired was good or evil. But God, who oftentimes descends

(*a*) *Nimrod* or *Belus*; Noah's great grandson, the father of Ninus, who first usurped over the patriarchs, and first took up arms against the wild beasts, which were then very numerous, powerful, and mischievous; then he made himself the head of his companions; then the king over all the rest, about *A.M.* 1720. *Nimrod*; Heb. *i. e.* a rebel; for he rebelled against God, in building the tower of Babel; and against men, in usurping monarchical government, and overturning the patriarchal. He is *Belus* among the heathens, the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, the first instance of idolatry; and was the *Bel* or *Baal* (Heb. *i. e.* lord) of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and all the world.

unseen to visit men, and passes among their habitations to take notice of their actions, soon beholding them, comes down to see their city, long before the tower reached up to heaven; and, in derision, confounded their native language, the Hebrew, (*b*) and instead thereof, gave them only power to make a jangling noise of words, not understood by one another. Forthwith a loud and confused talking rises among the builders, each call to the other, and nobody understands; until hoarse and all in a rage, they storm, thinking themselves mocked by each other: the angels in heaven looking down, held them in great derision, to see the strange hubbub, and hear the din. Thus this ridiculous building, which they foolishly thought might reach heaven, was left; and the work called Babel; which being interpreted signifies confusion.

Whereto Adam, displeased at what he saw his offspring do, exclaimed thus: O execrable son! to aspire so above his brethren; assuming to himself an usurped authority, not given him from God: he only gave us an absolute dominion over beast, fish, and fowl; that right we hold by his donation: but he never made Man lord over men; that title he hath reserved to himself only; for God left human race free from human dominion. But, this tyrant and usurper stops not his ambitious usurpation upon Man only; he also intended his new tower, to be a siege against the God of heaven. Wretched and mistaken Man! what food will he convey up thither, to sustain himself and his rash army? where

(*b*) *Hebrew*, the natural speech of mankind, from the creation for 1757 years; seeing all languages derive many words from that, but it from none of them; the names of men and things plainly confirm it, and the learned agree in it. After the confusion of tongues it remained in Heber's family, and so descended to the Jews, among whom it continued pure to the Babylonish captivity; in all about 3400 years.

the thin air above the clouds will consume his gross entrails; and if he were provided with bread, he must die, it being too fine for him to breathe in?

To whom Michael replied thus: Thou hast a just abhorrence of that son, who brought such great trouble upon the quiet state of Man, affecting to subdue reasonable liberty; yet learn at the same time, that since true liberty is lost, by reason of original sin (and liberty always is paired with right reason, and divided from it can have no being) reason in Man being obscured, or not obeyed, immediately inordinate desires and sudden passions catch the government from it, and reduce the whole Man to servitude, who until then was free. Therefore, since he permits unworthy powers to reign over free reason within himself; God in just judgment, subjects it from without to violent lords, who oftentimes as undeservedly enthrall his outward freedom. So that there must be such a thing as tyranny; though that cannot serve for any excuse to him who is a tyrant; yet sometimes nations will decline so low from virtue (which too is reason) that no wrongs, but justice and some fatal curse, deprives them of their outward liberty, their inward being lost by themselves; witness Ham (c) the irreverent son of Noah, who built the ark; who, for the shame done to his father, had this curse pronounced on him and his vicious race; "A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Thus will this latter world, as the former did, go on from bad to worse; until at last God, wearied with their iniquities, will draw his presence from among them, and turn his holiness away from them; from thenceforth resolved, to leave them to their own polluted ways,

(c) *Ham*, the youngest son of Noah, who was cursed for his disrespect and contempt of his father, Gen. ix. 24, 25. The old Carthaginians, Grecians, and Romans, and all the nations of Europe, made slaves of the Africans.

and to select one peculiar nation from all the rest to be adored by; a nation to spring from one faithful Man; that is to say, from Abraham, (*d*) yet residing on this side the river Euphrates, and bred up to worship idols.—Canst thou believe it possible? O that men should be grown so stupid and senseless, while yet the patriarch Noah, lived, who escaped the flood, as to forsake the living God, and fall down to worship their own works in wood and stone, and call them gods! yet the most high God vouchsafes to call him by vision from his father's house, and from his kindred and false gods, into a land which he will shew him; and from him will raise a mighty nation, and upon him shower his benediction so, that in his seed all nations shall be blessed: he straight obeys God's call and promises; firmly believing in them, though he did not know to what land he was to go. I see him (but I know thou canst not) with what faith he leaves his gods, all his friends, and native country, which is Ur (*e*) of Chaldæa; (*f*) now

(*d*) *Abraham*. God called him from among the idolatrous Chaldæans, about the year of the world 2083.

(*e*) *Ur*; Heb. *i. e. light*; because the Chaldæans worshipped the sun or fire. A city of Chaldæa, where Abraham was born, about 624 miles from Jerusalem eastward; now Orchæa and Horrea. This was the first sort of idolatry, called Sebaism, Gr. from the Heb. *i. e. worshipping the hosts of heaven*; for Dæmonolatria, Gr. *i. e. worshipping dæmons, heroes, beasts, images, &c.* came in long afterwards.

(*f*) *Chaldæa*; Gr. from the Heb. *i. e. like dæmons, destroyers, robbers*: in scripture it is called Chased, and the people Chadin, from Kesed, the son of Nahor, which the Greeks turned into Chaldæa. Also Shinar, Heb. *i. e. scattered*; because the builders of that tower were scattered over the whole earth, Gen. x. 10, 11. 28. and now Chaldar and Curdistan. Chaldæa is a large country of Asia, bordering upon Assyria, Mesopotamia, between the Euphrates and Tigris, whereof Babylon was the metropolis for many ages; therefore that country was called Babylonia.

passing the river Euphrates to Haran; (*g*) and after him a numerous train of herds and flocks, and abundance of servants; not wandering poorly without his substance, but trusting all his wealth with God, who called him to an unknown land. Now he comes to Canaan; (*h*) I see his tents pitched all about Sichem, (*i*) and the neighbouring plain Moreh (*k*). There he

(*g*) *Haran* or *Charran*; Heb. *i. e. anger* or *wrath*; from Haran, the father of Lot. It is a country and chief city of Mesopotamia, upon a river of the same name, not far from Uz, 440 miles from Jerusalem north-eastward. There Abraham lived some years; the Turks pay a great veneration to it on that account, and now call it Heren or Charron, Acts vii. 4. There the great Crassus, the Roman general and consul, with his army of 3000 men, was overthrown by the Parthians, who took it: afterwards the Persians took it, now the Turks possess it. It is eleven day's journey, or 232 miles westward from Niniveh, now well inhabited, has a good trade, and is also called Ophra. There is a well of clear water, at which Rebecca gave drink to Eleazar, Abraham's servant, Gen. xxiv. 49. They call it Abraham's well. But Mesopotamia is now rendered very desert and ruinous by the Turks.

(*h*) *Canaan*; Heb. *i. e. a merchant*, from Canaan the son of Ham; by whom it was first peopled, Gen. xi. 18. because it lies along the Mediterranean sea, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of trade, merchandise, and navigation, over the whole earth. Such were the old Phœnicians, Tyrians, Sidonians, Carthaginians, &c.

(*i*) *Sichem*; Heb. *i. e. a shoulder* or *back*; because it standeth out like one; or from Sichem, the father of Hamor or Emmor, Gen. xxxiv. 2. Acts vii. 16. Also Sychar; Heb. *i. e. hired* or *wages*, John iv. 5. and afterwards Scythopolis; see Judith iii. 14. Gr. *i. e. the city of the Scythians* or *Tartars*; because some of them settled there. An ancient city of Samaria in Palestine, between mount Gerizim and mount Ebal, belonging to Samaria, 36 miles from Jerusalem northward. There Joseph was buried, Joshua xxiv. 32. Abimelech razed it, Judges ix. 45. But Jeroboam rebuilt it, 1 Kings xii. Now it is called Naplosa, Gr. *i. e. the new town*; but it is in a very low condition at this time.

receives a promise, that all that land should be given to his posterity, northward from Hamath, (*l*) to the desert south of Arabia; (I call things by their names, though as yet they are not named) and east from Hermon (*m*) to the Mediterranean sea; mount Hermon that lies there! and yonder sea! (look at each place in prospect, as I point to them) upon the shore there is mount

(*k*) *Moreh*; Heb. i. e. *the lordship of the lord*: or from *Moreh*, one of the old Amorites, who possessed it, Gen. xiii. 18. xiv. 13. a piece of ground near Sichem, where Abraham first settled in Canaan, which Jacob bought of Hamor for 100 pieces of money, and gave to Joseph, Gen. xxxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. John iv. 5.

(*l*) *Hamath*, *Hemath*, or *Chamath*; Heb. i. e. *heat* or *anger*; from Hamath the son of Canaan, who built it. A city in the north of Canaan belonging to Syria, between two hills, near the river Orontes, at the foot of Anti-Libanus, 280 miles from Jerusalem; the utmost bounds of the Holy Land on the north, and one of the grand passes of it, called also Zin, Numbers xxxiv. 8. Joshua xiii. 5. Now the Turks call it Hems. There is a great Hamath and a little Hamath, Amos vi. 2. Some take it to be the ancient Apamæa; others on better grounds, for Epiphania or Antiochia. In the Targum it is called Antiochia, from Antiochus king of Syria. Toi was king of it in the reign of king David, 2 Sam. viii. 9. In the 13th century it had princes of its own, which were of the race of Ayub or Job, from whom descended Saladin, a sultan of the Turks, who conquered Palestine, Egypt, Syria, &c. *A.D.* 1180. Hamath was a city of great trade, but is now very much decayed.

(*m*) *Hermon*, or *Chermon*; Heb. i. e. *snow*. A high and fertile mountain in the north of Canaan, near mount Lebanon, beyond Jordan to the north-east, 122 miles from Jerusalem, and frequently covered with snow, because it is very high. It is called Shirjon by the Sidonians, Psalm xxix. 6. Sheniz, by the Amorites, Deut. iii. 9. Also Sion (not Tzion at Jerusalem) Deut. iv. 48. and also Baal-Hermon, Heb. i. e. *Hermon the Great*; to distinguish it from a lesser of that name, near mount Gilboa and mount Taber, in the tribe of Manasses, 44 miles from Jerusalem towards the north. At the foot of it stood the city Nain, Heb. i. e. *pleasant*; because it stood most pleasantly on the banks

Carmel; (*n*) here the river Jordan, springing from two fountains, is the boundary of Canaan on the east side; but Abraham's sons shall dwell as far as Seir, (*o*) which is all that long ridge of hills! now consider this well, that all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in his seed: by that seed, thy great deliverer is meant, who shall bruise the head of the serpent; about which, before I depart, I shall reveal more to thee. This blest patriarch (who, by reason of his obedience, shall be called faithful Abraham) (*p*) leaves a son called Isaac;

of the river Chison. Upon this mountain grew many good trees; wild beasts also abounded upon it, Ezek. xxvii. 5.

(*n*) *Carmel*; Heb. i. e. *a vineyard*; because there are many vineyards upon it. Another very high mountain in the Holy Land, upon the Mediterranean sea, to the south of Ptolemais, 50 miles north-west from Jerusalem, in the tribe of Issachar. Here the prophet Elijah began his reformation of religion, in the days of Ahab, a very idolatrous and impious king of Israel, 1 Kings xviii. Here Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, and other prophets, and also Pythagoras, the heathen philosopher, long afterwards resorted; for the sake of devotion, contemplation, and retirement. The ancient river Kyson cuts its way close by the west side of it, through the plains of Esdraelion into the sea at a place called Caypha. Upon this mountain is a convent of barefooted friars, called Carmelites, a little mosque, with several gardens and vineyards.

(*o*) *Seir*, *Senir*, or *Saner*; Heb. i. e. *rough*. A long and large ridge of mountains with many traets of fertile land, which made the kingdom of the Edomites, on the south side of the Dead sea and Canaan, about 46 miles from Jerusalem. It is a rocky country; therefore it is called Trachonites, Syr. Chald. i. e. *rocky, rough*; *Iturea*, Heb. i. e. *mountainous*, from Jetur, a son of Ismael; *Petræa*, Syr. i. e. *rocky*; and Idumea, Heb. i. e. *red*, from Esau or Edom; because he and his sons did settle in it: but it was called Seir long before that.

(*p*) *Abraham*; his first name was *Abram*, Heb. i. e. *an excellent or mighty father*; but when God renewed his covenant, he changed that into Abraham, i. e. *an excellent or mighty father of many people*. Abraham was the founder of the Jewish na-

and of him a grandchild, called Jacob, (*q*) very much like him in faith, wisdom, and renown. The grandchild, having twelve sons, departs from Canaan to a land, which will afterwards be called Egypt, divided by the river Nile: see there where it flows, disgorging itself at seven mouths into the sea! he comes to live in that land, being thither invited by a younger son in a time of famine; (call him Joseph) a son, whose worthy deeds raise him to be the next in dignity to Pharoah in that kingdom: there he dies, and leaves his race growing into a nation; and being thought too powerful, by another king who succeeded to the throne of that kingdom, some years after the death of Joseph, he

tion and church, esteemed a mighty prince among the Canaanites, a great prophet at Pharaoh's court. The kings of Egypt, Palestine, &c. courted his friendship, made leagues with him, and paid him homage. Nicol. Damascenus, Justin, &c. say, that he was king of Damascus; his name was had in veneration among both Jews, Gentiles, Muhammedans, and Christians, in all ages: they made religious pilgrimages to his oak at Mamre, until Constantine the Great ordered it to be destroyed; and which is more, he was called the father of the faithful, and the friend of God; a title of honour never bestowed on any man before. He carried the knowledge of astronomy, arithmetic, and other sciences, from Chaldæa into Egypt, as Josephus relates: but geometry was first found out in Egypt, from the overflowing of the Nile. He was born A.M. 1948, and lived 175 years.

(*q*) *Jacob* increased wonderfully; for of 70 souls which went with him into Egypt, in the space of 215 years they increased to 600,000 armed men, besides women, children, and old men unfit for war. At the first numbering of them, in the first year after they went out of Egypt, they were 603,550, Exodus xxx. 11, 12. xxxviii. 25, 26. In the second year their number was the same, although the tribe of Levi was not included, Numb. i. 46. In David's time Joab mustered a thousand thousand, and a hundred thousand men of Israel; and four hundred thousand threescore and ten thousand men of Judah, that were soldiers, 1 Chron. xxi. 5. And Josephus reckons three millions of men at Jerusalem, assembled at the passover.

sought to stop the growth of their numbers, looking upon them as too numerous a people to share the land with them: whence he, inhospitably, of guests made them slaves; and ordered the midwives of Egypt, to kill all the Hebrew male infants; until by two brethren, (call those two brethren Moses (*r*) and Aaron) who shall be sent from God, to demand his people to be delivered from bondage: they return back again to their promised land, with glory and spoils. But first the lawless tyrant (who denies to know any thing of their God, or give any regard to their message) must be compelled to let them go, by signs and great plagues: the rivers, and ponds, and pools of water, must all be turned to blood; his palace must be filled at different times with frogs, and lice, and flies, which will be loathsomely scattered all over the land: there must be a grievous murrain; his cattle must die of the rot, and blotches and blains must disfigure all his flesh, and the flesh of all his people: then thunder, and hail, and fire, running along upon the ground very grievous, such as there was none like it in Egypt since it became a na-

(*r*) *Moses*, *Mosheh*, and *Moyses*, Heb. i. e. *drawn out of the water*: see Exod. ii. 10. Josephus makes it an Egyptian word from *Moy*, i. e. *the water*: but we know not what name his parents gave him at his circumcision, unless we give into the fables of the Jews, who say it was Joachim, Jechotiel, Chabar, &c. *Vide* Huet. Dem. Evang. p. 120. Moses was the youngest son of Amram and Jokebed, of the tribe of Levi, born in Egypt, *A.M.* 2373. The grand prophet and lawgiver of the Jews, and celebrated by the wisest and best of the ancient heathens, as being the first and greatest philosopher, poet, and lawgiver in the world; for he was 500 years before Homer, 800 before Thales, 900 before Pythagoras, 1100 before Soerates, Plato, and Aristotle; and from him they extracted all the best parts of their philosophy, policy, history, religion, and laws. He died on mount Nebo in the land of Moab, at 120 years of age, upon the 7th day of the month, on which he was born, *A.M.* 2493.

tion; and it smote both Man and beast, and every herb of the field, and broke every tree. What that does not devour, either herb, or fruit, or grain, a darksome cloud of locusts (such as had never been before, nor never will be again) must eat, and leave nothing green upon the ground. A thick darkness must overshadow all his kingdom; such darkness as may be felt, and endure for three days; so that they neither saw one another, nor any rose from their place: and lastly, with one stroke at midnight, all the first-born of Egypt, from the king to the meanest servant, must be laid dead; and even the first-born of beasts. Thus Pharoah, the king of Egypt, at length tamed with these ten plagues, submits to let the children of Israel depart; and often humbles his stubborn heart: but still it was like ice, that will freeze the harder after it has been thawed: until pursuing in his rage those he had so lately dismissed, the sea swallows him up, with all his army; but lets the children of Israel pass as upon dry land; and the waters were a wall unto them, on their right hand and on their left, which stood so divided on Moses's stretching his rod over the sea; until such time as those he had to rescue were got on shore, (s) through the Red sea. Such wonderful power God will lend to holy Moses, though his angel will be there in pre-

(s) *Shore*: Sax. Dut. A geographical term. This shore was on the Egyptian ground. The people did not go directly across the Red sea from shore to shore, according to the vulgar opinion; but took a circular compass in that sea, and came out on the same side; the sea there is about seven leagues over. The Israelites went out of the wilderness of Etham in Egypt, and came out of it upon the very same side; they travelled three days in the same wilderness: then they marched northward to the isthmus of Sues, a tract of dry land between the Red sea and the Mediterranean sea, which is eighteen leagues broad; and there they travelled out of Egypt, as others do, into the wilderness of Arabia; where they abode forty years.

sence; who shall go before the camp of Israel, in a cloud and a pillar of fire; and remove and go behind them, by day a cloud, and by night a pillar of fire, to guide them in their journey, while Pharaoh pursues them. He will pursue them all night, but God will interpose darkness between him and them until morning; then looking through the fiery pillar and the cloud, God will trouble the army of these Egyptians, and render all their chariots unfit for use: when Moses, by command, extends his powerful rod once more over the sea; the sea obeys his rod, the waves return to their place that stood divided, and overwhelmed all the host of Pharaoh: the chosen people of God advance on, through the wild desert, towards Canaan; not the nearest way, lest entering on the country of the Canaanites, it might alarm them, and they be obliged to enter into war, being quite undisciplined, and fear might make them return back to Egypt, choosing inglorious life with slavery, rather than death: (for life is more sweet to the noblest minds, spent in peace, than in war; except, where rashness pushes forwards.) This also they shall gain by their stay in the wilderness; that there they shall lay the foundations of their government, and choose their great senate, (*t*) through the twelve tribes,

(*t*) *Senate*; Fr. Ital. Span. Lat. A council of old men. The Lacedemonians called them Gerontes, Gr. *i. e.* *old men* or *senators*; they were always chosen for this office, because of their greater experience and prudence. We find them mentioned in the early days of Job. Such only were elected in the Areopagus or grand council of Athens, Sparta, Rome, and all other polite nations. The Jewish council was first instituted by the advice of Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, Exodus xviii. 25, 26.; and afterwards erected into the number of seventy-two elders, *i. e.* six men out of every tribe, by divine institution; and Moses was the prince or head of them, Numb. xi. 16. It was called Beth-dan, *i. e.* *the house of judgment*, and Sanhedrim or Sanhedrin, contracted from the Greek Synedrion, *i. e.* a synod or assembly.

to rule according to the laws which God ordained. God, descending from the mountain of Sinai (which shall tremble at his presence) will himself ordain them laws, with thunder, lightning, and the loud sound of a trumpet: part, such as appertain to civil justice; part, religious rites of sacrifice; teaching them, by types and shadows of that seed which was decreed to bruise the serpent, by what means he shall bring the deliverance of mankind to pass. But the voice of God is dreadful to the ears of men; they beseech, that Moses might report his will to them, and that terror might cease: he grants them their desire; they being instructed, that there is no access to God without a mediator, whose high office now Moses bears in a figurative sense, to introduce one greater, of whose day he shall foretell, and all the prophets in their age shall prophecy of the times of the great Messiah. Thus laws and rights being established, God takes such delight in men, obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes to set up his tabernacle among them, and (though the holy and everlasting God) to dwell with mortal men. By his ordinance is built a sanctuary of cedar, overlaid with gold; and in that an ark, or little chest; and in that his testimony, the records of his covenant with his people: over these a mercy-seat of gold, between the wings of two bright cherubim: before him burn seven lamps, as in a zodiac, whose number is to represent the seven planets: over the tent a cloud shall rest by day, and a gleam of fire by night, except when they travel; for then the cloud shall be taken up from over the tabernacle; until at length they come, conducted by the angel of God, to the land promised to Abraham and his seed.—The rest were long to tell, how many battles fought, how many kings destroyed, and how many kingdoms won; or how the sun shall stand still in the midst of heaven a whole day, and put off the due course of the night,

at the command and voice of a Man; ‘Sun! stand thou still upon Gibeon, (*u*) and thou moon! in the valley of Ajalon, (*x*) until Israel overcome:’ so call Isaac’s (*y*) son, the third from Abraham; and from him his whole descent, who thus shall win Canaan, shall be called Israel, or Israelites.

Here Adam interposed, and said to the archangel: Gracious things thou hast revealed to me, thou enlightener of my darkness, who art sent from heaven! and chiefly hast informed me of those, which concern just Abraham and his seed: now I first find my eyes truly opening, and my heart a great deal eased, which was once much perplexed with thoughts of what would become of me and all mankind: but now I see his day, in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed; a favour unmerited by me, who, by forbidden means, sought after forbidden knowledge: yet this I cannot comprehend, why to those, among whom God will deign to dwell

(*u*) *Gibeon*; Heb. *i. e. a hill*; because it stood on an eminence. The chief city of the Gibeonites, two leagues north-west from Jerusalem, Joshua x. 2. After the conquest, it was given to the priests.

(*x*) *Ajalon*, or *Helion*; Heb. *i. e. an oak, a hind, or strength*; because it was a strong city. It belonged to the Philistines, in the tribe of Dan, four miles from Jerusalem to the south-east: near it this miracle was wrought by Joshua. It was given to the Levites. See Joshua x. 12.

(*y*) *Isaac*; Heb. *i. e. laughter*; because his father and mother laughed at the strangeness of the promise of a son, when his father was 100, and she was 90 years of age, Gen. xviii. 12. 15. He was the only son of Abraham by Sarah, and heir of the divine promise. God commanded him to offer him in a burnt-offering, but an angel rescued him, and he offered a ram in his stead, &c. Isaac was born A.M. 2048, died A.M. 2228, being 180 years old. Seven men were predicted and called by their names, before they were born, viz. Ishmael, Isaac, Samson, Josiah, Cyrus, John the Baptist, and Jesus Christ. To these St. Jerom adds Solomon, from 1 Chron. xxii. 8, 9.

here upon earth, are given so many and various laws; for so many laws argue, that there are so many sins among them: how can God reside with such?

To whom Michael made this reply: doubt not, but that sin will find place among them, as being begotten of thee; and therefore was law given them, to make their natural depravity appear, by stirring up sin to fight against law; that when they see that law can discover sin, but not remove it (except by those shadowy and weak expiations, the blood of bulls and goats) they may conclude, that some blood more precious must be paid for Man; the just for the unjust: that in such righteousness, imputed to them by faith, they may find justification towards God, and peace of conscience; which the law by ceremonies cannot appease, nor Man perform the moral part; and not performing it, cannot live: so that law appears imperfect, and is only given, with a purpose to resign them, in the fulness of time, up to a better covenant; being led from the shadow of types to truth: from flesh to spirit; from the imposition of strict laws, to free acceptance of large grace; from servile fear, to filial fear; from works of law, to works of faith. And therefore Moses, though highly beloved of God, shall not (being but the minister of law) lead his people into the land of Canaan; but Joshua, (z) whom the

(z) *Joshua*, or *Jehoshua*; Heb. *i. e. a saviour of the Lord*. He was first called Hoshea and Jesus, but all from the same Hebrew root. The son of Nun, and successor of Moses, and grand general of Israel: he vanquished the Canaanites, and distributed their land among the twelve tribes. He was born in Egypt, A. M. 2404, 92 years after the death of Joseph; was their general about 18 years, conquered 31 kings, put the Israelites in peaceable possession, in six years time, and died aged 110 years. The Phœnicians called him Hercules, *i. e. the glory of heroes*; because of his many wonderful victories over them. The Jews, from the first entrance into Canaan under Joshua to the Babylonish captivity, lived in Canaan about 855 years. After the

Gentiles call Jesus, bearing his name and office; who shall quell the adversary serpent, and bring back Man through the world's wilderness, who had wandered long there, safe to an eternal Paradise of rest. Meanwhile, they, placed in their earthly Canaan, shall dwell a long time, and prosper; but when national sins interrupt their public peace, provoking God to raise them up enemies, from whom, upon their being penitent, he as often saves them; first by judges, (a) then under kings; of whom the second (renowned both for piety and warlike deeds) shall receive an irrevocable promise, that his regal throne shall endure for ever: all the prophets shall prophecy the like; that of the royal stock of David (b) (for so I name this king) shall rise

restoration, to the destruction of their temple, city, and nation by the Romans, in the 2d year of Vespasian, and 73d of Jesus Christ, about 639 years more; in all 1494 years. But their total and final expulsion out of that land was not until 60 years after that. But the kingdom of Israel, from its separation from Judah to the end of it by Salmanaser, lasted but 250 years.

(a) *Judges*; Lat. The Hebrew call them Sophehim: from whence the Carthaginians, Athenians, and others, called their civil magistrates *Sussetes*. Those judges were men of extraordinary piety, virtue, and valour, raised up upon extraordinary occasions, for the deliverance and defence of the people. They were 22 in number (but others reckon only 12, beginning with Othniel, *Judg.* iii. 9.) and continued, from Moses to Saul, their first king, about the space of 426 years. After them there were 22 kings of Judah, in the space of 500 years, to the Babylonish captivity.

(b) *David*; Heb. *i. e. beloved*; because he was pious, upright, and beloved of God. He was the son of Jesse of Bethlehem, a shepherd, the second king of Israel, anointed king about fifteen years of age, A.M. 2881, and after many troubles came to the throne, being thirty years old; he reigned forty years and six months. He died in the seventieth year of his age; and was buried most magnificently by king Solomon. Hircanus, the high priest, found three thousand talents in his sepulchre, three hundred years afterwards, and Herod found a vast treasure in it,

a son, which is the seed of the Woman, which has been foretold to thee; and which, as I have already informed thee, shall be foretold to Abraham, as one in whom all nations shall put their trust; he shall be foretold to kings, and himself shall be the last of kings; for of his reign there shall be no end. But, first there must ensue a long succession; and his next son, famed for wealth and wisdom, shall enshrine the ark of God in a glorious temple; until then resting under the cloud, or wandering in tents. Such kings follow him, as part shall be chronicled bad, part good; but mostly bad; whose foul idolatries, and other faults added to the sins of the people, will so incense God, that he will leave them, and expose their land, their city, his temple, and his holy ark, with all his sacred things, a prey and a scorn to that proud city whose high walls thou sawest left in confusion; thence called Babylon. There he lets them live in captivity the space of seventy years; then brings them back again; remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn to David. Being returned from Babylon, by the leave of kings who were their lords, whose hearts God disposed, they first rebuild the house of God, and live for a while moderate, in mean estate; until grown rich and populous, they grow factious. But the dissention first springs among the priests; men who attend upon the altar, and who mostly should endeavour to keep peace: their strife brings pollution upon the temple itself; at last they seize upon the sceptre and pay no regard to the house of David: then they lose it to a stranger, to Herod, (c) that the true anointed

many ages after that. Three thousand talents were worth 5073l. 15s. 7d. But his vast treasure amounted to 547,500,000 sterling; and in silver to above 342,000,000l. See 1 Chron. xxii. 14.

(c) Here Herod the Great, an Ascalonite or Idumæan. He was the first foreign prince that ever reigned in Judæa, deputed therein by the Romans, who had subdued the Jews; for then the sceptre actually departed from the house of king David.

king, the Messiah, might be born, debarred of his right: yet a star appearing at his birth, which had never before been seen in heaven, proclaims him come; and guides the wise men of the east to him, who inquire the place where he was, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold: a solemn angel tells the place of his birth to the simple shepherds, as they kept watch by night; they gladly haste thither, and there was a multitude of the host of heaven, praising God, and singing songs of joy. A virgin shall be his mother, but he shall be begot by the power of the most High! he shall ascend his hereditary throne, and the bounds of his kingdom shall be that of the whole earth; but his glory shall extend to the utmost heavens.

Michael left speaking; perceiving Adam so full of joy, that if he had vented it with words, it would, like grief, have occasioned him to burst out into tears; so he addressed these to the angel:

O Prophet! foretelling gladness and future good, to the utmost that can be desired or hoped for; now I understand clearly, what with all the power of my thoughts I have often searched in vain; why the great Redeemer that we expect, should be called the seed of Woman: hail virgin mother, high in the love of heaven! yet thou shalt proceed from my loins, and from thy womb shall proceed the Son of the most high God; so God unites with Man. Now is the time for the serpent to expect his final defeat, with mortal and everlasting pain. When, and where, will there fight be? and tell me, I pray thee, what stroke shall bruise the heel of the conqueror?

To whom Michael made this answer: Do not imagine, that they are to fight as it were in a duel, or that there will be real wounds given or received, in such places as the head or heel: the Son of God does not join manhood to the godhead, that so he may overthrow

thy enemy with more strength: nor is Satan so to be overcome, whose fall from heaven (which was a deadlier bruise) did not disable him from giving thee thy death's wound; which he, who comes to be thy Saviour, shall cure again; not by destroying Satan, but by destroying his works in thee, and in thy seed. Nor can this be, but by fulfilling (that which in thee was wanting) obedience to the law of God, imposed on penalty of Death, and by suffering Death; which is the penalty due to thy transgression, and due to all them that shall proceed from thee: it is by this only, that high justice can be fully satisfied. He shall exactly fulfil the law of God, both by obedience and by love; though love alone is the fulfilling of the law: he shall undergo thy punishment, by coming in the flesh to a reproachful life, and to a cursed death; proclaiming life to all those, who shall believe in his redemption; and that his obedience is imputed to them, becoming theirs by faith, that they are saved by his merits, and not their own works, though they may keep the moral law. For this he shall live hated, be blasphemed, seized on by force, have judgment passed on him, and be condemned to a shameful and ignominious death; be nailed to a cross by his own nation, and slain for having been so gracious as to bring life: but with him are crucified thy enemies, that is, the law that is against thee, and the sins of all mankind; which never more shall do them hurt, who righteously put their trust in this his satisfaction. So he dies, but soon rises again from the dead: he shall not remain long under the power of Death; before the morning of the third day, he shall be seen to rise out of his grave, bright as the light of day; having paid the ransom which redeems mankind from Death; his death for Man, to as many as do not neglect the offer of life, and will embrace the benefit of faith accompanied by works. This godlike act

repeals thy doom, the death thou shouldest have died; having through sin, lost and forfeited life for ever: this act shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength, by defeating Sin and Death, the two main instruments of his power; and fix their stings far deeper into his head, than temporal Death shall bruise the conquerer's heel, or theirs whom he redeems: how little will that be to suffer? a death-like sleep! a gentle and safe passage to a glorious and immortal life! nor will the Redeemer after his resurrection stay longer upon earth, than to appear certain times to his disciples; men, who in his life time continued to follow him: to them he shall leave in charge, to teach all nations what they had learnt of him and his salvation; baptizing all them who shall believe, with water, to be as a sign of washing them from the guilt of sin to pure life, and prepare their minds for death; even such death (if it should so happen) as the Redeemer himself had died. They shall teach all nations; for, from that day forward, salvation shall not be preached only to the sons of Abraham, but to the sons of Abraham's faith, wherever they may be dispersed throughout the whole world; so, in his seed shall all nations be blessed: then he shall ascend with victory up to the heaven of heavens, triumphing through the air over his foes and thine: there he shall surprise the serpent, the prince of the power of the air; drag him in chains through all his region, and leave him there confounded: then enter into glory, and take his seat again at the right hand of God, honoured and exalted above all names in heaven; and thence, when the time shall be for the dissolution of the world, he shall come with glory and power to judge both the quick and the dead; to condemn the unfaithful, but to reward the faithful, and receive them into bliss, whether in heaven, or earth; for then the earth shall be all a Paradise, a far happier place than this of Eden, and where there shall be far happier days.

CHAPTER II.

Adam recomforted, descends the hill with Michael.

THUS spoke the archangel Michael; then paused, as at the great period of the world; and our first father Adam, quite full of joy and wonder replied thus:

O infinite and immense goodness! that shall produce all this good out of evil, and turn evil to good! more wonderful than that power, which by creation first brought light out of darkness! I stand full of doubt, whether I should now repent of the sin done and occasioned by me; or much rather, if I should not rejoice, that thereof shall spring much more good; more glory to God, more good will to men from God, and grace shall abound and overcome wrath. But tell me, if our Redeemer ascends again up into heaven, what will become of his few faithful ones, left among the unfaithful crowd, who are the enemies of truth? who shall then guide his people? who shall defend them? will they not deal worse with his followers, than they did with him?

That (said the angel) they will certainly do; but he will send from heaven, to those who are his, another comforter, as was promised by the Father; who shall dwell in Spirit within them, and write upon their hearts the laws of faith working through love, to guide them in all truth; and also arm them with spiritual armour; able to resist the assaults of Satan, and to quench his fiery darts; making them not afraid of what men can do against them, though it should be persecution to death; being recompensed for suffering such cruelties, with inward consolation, and oftentimes shall be supported so, as will amaze their proudest persecutors; for the Spirit, which first he will pour out upon his apos-

tles (whom he sends with the glad tidings of the gospel to all nations, and then upon all those who are baptized) shall endow them with wonderous gifts; to speak all tongues, and do miracles, as their Lord had done before them. Thus they gain over great numbers of each nation, joyfully to receive the news of salvation brought from heaven: at length, they having performed their ministry well, and run well the race that was set before them, writing their doctrines and the actions that they did, to serve for edification, they shall in time die: but in their room, as they themselves forewarn, grievous wolves, (*d*) shall succeed for teachers, who shall turn all the sacred mysteries of heaven to their own vile advantages of lucre and ambition, and taint the truth (which, though left pure in those written records, is not to be understood but by the Spirit) with superstition and traditions. Then they shall seek to aggrandize themselves with names, places, and titles; and with these to join secular power, though still feigning to act by spiritual; assuming to themselves only the Spirit of God, which is promised and given alike to all believers: and, from that pretence, shall force upon every conscience spiritual laws by carnal power; laws! which none shall find in the written law of God, nor engraved by his Spirit within upon the heart. What will they do then, but force the Spirit of grace itself, and bind up liberty, which is inseparable from it? what, but destroy God's living temples by martyrdom, built to stand

(*d*) *Wolves*; Sax. Dut. Teut. Gr. *i. e. pernicious, lying hid, or white*; because wolves are fierce, ravenous beasts of prey, that soon grow white; from the Heb. *Lakach*, *i. e. to ravish, or snatch away violently*. Here, false Christs, false apostles, which soon appeared, even in the days of the apostles; did then, and have done much mischief since to the church in all ages; by devouring the souls, bodies, and substance of men, by their pernicious cruelties; as wolves destroy their prey.

by faith; that is, by their own faith, and not another's? (for who can we admit to be infallible upon earth, against our own faith and conscience?) yet many will take upon them, and presume to give law to other's faith; whence heavy persecutions (*e*) shall arise upon all, who persevere in the worship of God in spirit and in truth: the rest, which will be far the greater part, will think religion satisfied, in the performance of outward ceremonies and specious forms: truth shall retire, struck with reproach and many slanders, and works of faith be very seldom found among men. So shall the world go on, groaning under its burthen, and good men shall be oppressed and persecuted, while bad men flourish; until the day come, when just men shall rest from their labours and sufferings, and the wicked shall be awakened to vengeance; at the return of Him, who is to be the seed of the Woman, so lately promised to be given to thy assistance; then foretold obscurely, but now more fully known to be thy Saviour and thy Lord; who at last shall come down from heaven, in the glory of the Father, to dissolve the perverted world, and totally to subdue the devil: then, after the conflagration, the whole mass being purged and refined, he shall raise a new heaven and a new earth, founded in righteousness, peace and love; which will bring forth fruits of eternal joy and happiness.

(*e*) *Persecutions*; i. e. *a pursuit*; affliction, an unjust and cruel oppression of men to death. There have been ten persecutions for the cause of Christianity: Nero began the first, *A.D.* 67; Domitian the second, *A.D.* 92; Trajan continued the third, *A.D.* 99; Hadrian continued the fourth, *A.D.* 124; Antonine began the fifth, *A.D.* 178; Severus the sixth, *A.D.* 203; Maximinus the seventh, *A.D.* 226; Decius the eighth, *A.D.* 249; Valerius the ninth, *A.D.* 257; and Dioclesian the tenth, *A.D.* 303. This held ten years, and after his death it was continued by his successor, until Constantine, the first Christian emperor, established the Christian faith over the world.

Here Michael made a pause, and Adam replied: Blest angel! in what short compass hast thou given me a satisfactory view of all things, from the beginning of time, until it shall finish its course? beyond which is the great length of eternity, whose end no eye can reach! I shall leave Paradise, greatly instructed, in great quietness of mind, and have as much knowledge as my nature is capable of receiving; beyond which I was so foolish as to aspire! henceforward, I learn, that it is best to obey and love the only God, with fear; to walk, as knowing I am always in his presence, always to observe his providence, and have my whole dependance upon him; who is merciful over all his works, still overcoming evil with good, accomplishing great things by small, subverting things of a worldly nature by things deemed weak, and worldly wisdom by simplicity and meekness; that suffering for truth's sake is fortitude, the highest victory; and to the faithful, death so suffered is the gate of life: this I am taught by his example, whom I now acknowledge my ever blest Redeemer!

To whom the archangel, for the last time, made answer: Having learned thus much, thou hast attained the sum of wisdom; hope for nothing higher: though thou knowest all the stars by their names, and all the powers of heaven; all the secrets of the deep; all the works of nature, or of God, in earth, water, air, or fire; or though thou enjoyedst all the riches of this world, and ruled over it as one empire, only add deeds answerable to thy knowledge; add integrity, add virtue, patience, temperance, and love, hereafter to be called charity, which is the soul of all the rest; then thou wilt not be loath to leave this Paradise, but shalt possess within thyself a Paradise far happier!—Therefore now let us descend from this hill, from whence I have been shewing thee and foretelling future things; for this

is exactly the time that we must depart from hence: and see! the guards, which I have encamped upon yonder hill, expect orders for moving; before whom a flaming sword waves fiercely round in signal, that it is time for me to go. We must stay no longer here; do thou go and wake Eve; I have calmed her spirit with gentle dreams, foreboding good, and have composed all her spirits to meek submission. At a fit season, do thou inform her of what thou hast heard, chiefly what may concern her faith to know; make her sensible of the great deliverance which is to come, by her seed, on all mankind; (for so God pronounced it, "The seed of the Woman") that so ye may live all your days (which will be many) both unanimous in one faith, though, with reason, sorrowful for past evils; yet much more joyful in meditation on the happy end.

CHAPTER III.

Michael leads Adam and Eve out of Paradise; the fiery sword waving behind them, and the cherubim taking their station to guard the place.

MICHAEL, after this, spoke no more to Adam, but they both descend the hill; Adam ran before the angel to the bower where they had left Eve sleeping, intending to wake her, as the angel had bid him; but he found her already risen from sleep, and with cheerful words she thus received him:

I know whither thou wentest with the angel, and from whence thou art returned; for God is also with us whilst we sleep, and can communicate knowledge in dreams, which he hath to me, propitiously presaging some great good, since I fell asleep, wearied with sor-

row and distress of heart; but now I am cheered; lead on! I shall not desire to make any delay; to go with thee, makes it as happy as to stay here; to stay here without thee, as unhappy as to go hence unwillingly: thou art all things under heaven to me, and canst make all places alike to me; who art banished hence, on account of my wilful transgression. Yet this farther consolation I carry with me, that though all is lost by me, such favour is vouchsafed me, unworthy as I am! that by me the promised seed shall restore all.

So spoke our first mother Eve, and Adam heard her, well pleased, but made no answer; for now the angel was come up to him, and stood too near; and from the other hill the cherubim all descended in bright array, to take their fixed station, gliding as an evening mist does over marshy ground. High advanced in the front, blazed before them the flaming sword of God, as fierce as a comet; which with sultry heat and vapours began to parch that temperate climate: at which the angel, in either hand, took our lingering parents, and led them directly to the eastern gate; and then, as fast down the cliff, to the plain beneath; after which he immediately disappeared from them. They, looking back, beheld all the eastern side of Paradise, which had been their happy seat so lately, and saw the flaming sword waving over it: the gate crowded with angels dreadfully armed with fire, and forbidding entrance. They shed some natural tears, but soon wiped them away: the whole world was before them, where to choose the place of their residence, Providence was their guide: and they, hand in hand, with slow and wandering steps, took their solitary way through Eden.

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